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TRANSACTIONS.

OCTOBER, 1908, TO MARCH, 1909.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME X.

OCTOBER, 1908, TO MARCH, 1909.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

BY BLADES, EAST & BLADES.

MARCH, 1910.

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The thanks of the Society are offered to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, and to the College Librarian, Professor Oman, for leave kindly granted to take photographs from their copy of Cardinal Barberini's edition of the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius.

A.W.P.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION.

October, 1908, to March, 1909.

OCTOBER MEETING.

On Monday, October 19th, the President, Mr. G. R. Redgrave, in the Chair, the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet read a paper on *The Revision of the Vulgate.*

SUMMARY.—When Pope Pius X determined to take steps to prepare for a critical revision of the Latin Vulgate, the work was offered to the Benedictine Order and was accepted at an international meeting of the Superiors held in Rome in the May of last year, 1907. A few months later to my surprise I was chosen as the first president of the Commission of Revision, and in the autumn of last year had to go to organise the work at Rome, where I received from the Pope personally the strictest charge that the revision should be conducted upon the most approved scientific methods of modern times. I am glad of this opportunity to set forth some points connected with it.

As all know, the origin of the ancient Latin text of the Bible is obscure. Before the time of St. Jerome the text known as the *Itala* was the most important of the Latin translations of the Sacred Scriptures. This Latin Version is not thought to have been the work of any individual, but to have come from many pens; and, what is certain is, that in the early centuries there was no approved text possessing any ecclesiastical authority, and as a

natural consequence, there was a terrible confusion of rival Latin versions. The task undertaken by St. Jerome in the last quarter of the fourth century, by command of Pope Damasus, was the production of as perfect a text in Latin as was possible, with all the care and learning he could give to the work. At the present day I believe that scholars are practically agreed as to the competence of St. Jerome for the task committed to him. Moreover, while we now possess perhaps two or three Greek manuscripts dating back to his time, and possibly as many Latin, he could confront dozens of ancient texts for every one we can now examine, and it is thus obvious that the possession of the pure text of his version is greatly to be desired. While, however, the present authorized Latin text, no doubt, substantially represents that which St. Jerome produced in the fourth century, no less certainly must it be admitted that it stands in need of examination and correction.

The fact, that beyond receiving the approval of the Pope, St. Jerome's text was not in any way commanded to be received by authority, and that side by side with it the older versions were used at pleasure for the best part of two centuries, is quite sufficient to account for the way in which the pure text was from the first corrupted by the scribes. The *Itala* was the more familiar text and transcribers substituted the translation they knew, even when there was no intentional preference. This use of the *Itala* side by side with the version which St. Jerome had taken such pains to produce accurately, went on until the supreme authority of Pope St. Gregory the Great intervened and ordered the version of St. Jerome, except for the Psalter, to be adopted generally. From the eighth century the use of the old version was discontinued. I believe that our St. Bede is the last writer to cite the *Itala*, and in his Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth he speaks of the monastery of Wearmouth in England, in which there was a codex of the old translation, and adds that St. Benet Biscop had brought thither a copy of the new (*i.e.*, St. Jerome's) translation—"The Pandect translated by the Blessed Jerome from Hebrew and Greek sources into Latin." On his deathbed St. Benet Biscop begged the monks of his monastery to keep the

"magnificent and full copy of the Bible he had brought from Rome" complete and not to allow it to be injured by want of care. This copy of the "new translation" was thrice copied in the joint monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Two of these copies remained apparently in these houses, and the third was intended as a present to the Pope. Abbot Ceolfrid carried it abroad with him to give it in person, but he died upon the way, and the whereabouts of the Codex was unknown until in our own time through the joint acumen of de Rossi and Dr. Hart it was recognised as the MS. known as the *Codex Amiatinus* of the Laurentian Library at Florence. In the Clementine revision of the sixteenth century, when as yet, of course, the romantic history of the manuscript was unknown, this was recognised as being one of the most important texts of the Latin Bible and as such had considerable influence in the work. After the lapse of three centuries this magnificent volume is still regarded as perhaps the most important of known Latin Biblical manuscripts.

A further element of uncertainty is introduced into the problem of determining the text of St. Jerome by the revision of the Latin Scriptures undertaken by the great English scholar Alcuin at the request of Charlemagne. That there was ample need for such a revision there can be no question; but how far he succeeded in recovering the text of St. Jerome, or indeed whether he had not a wider design in his work, is by no means certain. His text was completed and presented to Charlemagne in A.D. 802 and was founded on the collation of many manuscripts, some at least obtained from the libraries of England. This "edition" of Alcuin practically superseded all others in Europe generally and many very beautiful manuscripts of it are extant in the libraries of Europe; but how far they can be relied upon to furnish us with the original and pure text of St. Jerome has yet to be determined. In the opinion of competent authorities the text has to be sought for in the comparatively few manuscripts of a time before the influence of the Alcuin recension had become paramount in the ninth century, or in countries like Spain where the authority of Charlemagne was not felt.

In the course of time other revisions, or partial revisions, of the Vulgate were attempted by individuals or corporate bodies. The results, however, were not happy. What the text had become in the middle of the thirteenth century, we know from the works of the eminent English scholar, Roger Bacon. Every professor in the University of Paris, Friar Bacon informs us, made what changes he thought necessary at his own sweet will; when anyone did not quite understand a text he corrected it into what in his opinion it ought to be. It is of considerable interest to note that Bacon himself fully understood the only scientific way of correcting the sacred text. Put briefly, the requirements which he laid down for this work were (1) unity of action under authority; (2) a thorough consultation of the most ancient manuscripts; (3) a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek to help where the best Latin manuscripts left room for doubt; (4) a thorough knowledge of Latin grammar and construction, and (5) the greatest care in distinguishing between St. Jerome's readings and those of the most ancient (*Itala*) version. Upon the search for and thorough consultation of the most ancient manuscripts Bacon lays great stress.

It is not necessary to speak of the various attempts at correction of the Latin text before the time of the Council of Trent. It was recognised by the Council that in the editions then current there were to be found errors, more or less serious, and it was proposed that the Pope should undertake to prepare a new and revised edition. The work lasted for over forty years, from 1546 to 1592, and the members consulted for the purpose the best known manuscripts and had collations of others made in all parts of Europe. The work having dragged on for so long Sixtus V determined to put an end to it and to give the finishing touches to it himself. Unfortunately his principles of revision were different to those of the Commission, and the consequent result of the publication of the first volume was not happy. At this point Sixtus V died and his successor determined to appoint another Commission which was presided over by Cardinals Colonna and Allen. The task set them was just finished when the Pope, Gregory XIV, died in October, 1591, and the publication of the edition was reserved for

the Pontificate of Clement VIII in 1592. This is the edition which has remained the authentic text ever since.

In spite of the care which had been bestowed upon the preparation of this edition, it has from the first been recognised that some day or other a revision of the Clementine text would have to be undertaken. Private individuals, like Padre Vercellone and others, have already done something by collecting various readings from manuscripts to which they had access, whilst it is hardly too much to say that the work of the Bishop of Salisbury and the Rev. H. J. White on the *Gospels* and the *Acts of the Apostles* has given to all future revisers the best possible model for such work. Exactly what we have been, as a Commission, charged to do is to recover as far as possible the actual text of St. Jerome's translation of the Latin Bible. We have nothing to do with the question as to how far this represents the Hebrew or Greek, etc. This is a second step in the matter of revision, but it must obviously be a long time before such a step can be taken. Meanwhile *labor est ante nos*, we have our work before us, and at present we are in the stage of preparation only. Much depends, as in most other things, on the money question. The cost of such a work as that upon which we are embarking is obviously considerable: men, even when they give their services for nothing, have to be lodged and fed; journeys in search of manuscripts have to be paid for; scribes and photographers have to be employed, etc., etc. I had hoped that the general interest in the announcement of the determination of the Pope to initiate a work which had been long in contemplation, might have produced some generous patrons, who would welcome the idea of being associated with a work such as this. But I am sorry to say that so far my hopes have not been realised, and but for the help of personal friends I should not have been able even to meet the initial expenses of the past year. Still, something has been done. The Clementine text is being set up, without capitals or punctuation, in columns containing about three words to a line, and numerous copies of this text will be available for collation with the best manuscripts that can be found. The capitulars or summaries, common up to the 10th century, are being

collated in order to determine the families into which extant manuscripts can be divided, and an annotated list has been compiled of all the Biblical manuscripts at Rome, with the result that several interesting unregistered codices, especially of the New Testament, have come to light. Finally, it may be mentioned, that only two days ago there was received from Mr. Turner, of Magdalene College, Oxford, a photograph of a leaf of a manuscript Latin Bible, which had been used as late as 1780 as lining for an account book, and there is strong reason to believe that this may be a fragment of one of the two transcripts made at Wearmouth at the same time as the Codex Amiatinus.

After a few words from the President, the Rev. H. J. WHITE offered some brief notes on the kindred work on which he had been engaged for twenty-two years in conjunction with the Bishop of Salisbury, who had charged him to express his great regret at not being able to be present that afternoon. The twenty-two years had been spent in revising the Latin text of the Gospels and Acts, and now that the Epistles had been reached progress was even slower than before. One curious fact mentioned by Mr. White was the extraordinary number of heresies which had left their traces on some of the extant summaries and prefaces to the Epistles. In conclusion he warned Abbot Gasquet that he must be prepared to spend many years over his task, but prophesied that they would be very happy ones.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 16th, the President, Mr. Redgrave, in the Chair, a paper on *The Bibliography of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, by Dr. Wickham Legg, was read for him by Mr. A. J. K. Esdaile. Dr. Legg's paper is printed in full in the present volume.

DECEMBER MEETING.

The third meeting of the session was held on Monday, December 21st, at 5 p.m., at 20, Hanover Square, the President, Mr. Redgrave, in the Chair.

Mr. Frank Sidgwick read a paper entitled *Some Notes on the Pepysian Library.*

SUMMARY.—There is one aspect of Samuel Pepys to which as yet justice has not been done; and this is partly due to his own secretiveness. As he wrote his *Diary* in a cipher which kept it secret for a century, so he secured his library from inquisitive eyes by surrounding his legacy to Magdalene College with strict conditions. The *Diary* deals with nearly 3,500 days of Pepys's life, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-sixth year of his age; and contains mentions of 150 books bought, and of 125 books read. Further, it records various attentions paid by him to his library—cataloguing, binding, and housing in oak presses (which still contain it). None of the catalogues which the *Diary* mentions are now in existence, but there is one dated 1700 which refers to "the last Adjustment, A.D. 1693." This is signed by John Jackson, his nephew and residuary legatee, as containing exactly 3,000 volumes. The catalogue is divided into *Supellex Literaria* (2,474 volumes) and *Additamenta* (526 volumes); but, taking omitted numbers and blanks into account, we find that the Library, as it left Jackson's hands, must have consisted of 2,974 volumes. Only seven of these are missing after a lapse of two hundred years.

Bequeathed for his lifetime to Jackson, under stringent regulations for its final settlement and future preservation, the Library, which Pepys removed from York Buildings to Clapham, when he went in 1700 to live with his clerk, William Hewer, remained after Hewer's death in 1715 under Jackson's sole charge until his death in 1722–3. A document of 1704, assigning it to Magdalene College, Cambridge, is preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. In 1724 the books arrived in Cambridge, and were placed in a large room in the "new building," where they remained till 1834. They were then moved into the Master's Lodge, transferred to the new Master's Lodge between 1837 and 1849, and in 1854 again deposited in the "new building," but in another room—that which is now the *Bibliotheca Pepysiana.*

The presses in which they remain, the order in which they are arranged, and the system of marking, are all of Pepys's own designing.

The efficacy of his regulations as to their use, moreover, is proved by the small number of books that have disappeared—seven out of 3,000—and two of these were missing in 1744. Pepys catalogues these volumes thus:—

"130. { Bale's Martyrdom of Sir John Oldcastle.
Segar's Disswasive from a Court Life—about 1549.

234. Sr. Ken. Digby's Discourse of the Sympathetick Powder, in an Assembly at Mompelier.

300. The Affair of ye Queen of Scots, in Scotch—1566.

458. Skelton (Poet Laureat) his Satyr against Woolsey; printed in the Cardinal's Life-time.

549. English Liturgy in French.

825. A MSS. List of His Majesties Fleet (of his own & hired ships) imployed against Holland 1671, 1672, & 1673.

2069. Acco^{t}. of the Rise, Progress, & present State of ye Troubles in Virginia 1677: With Proposals of the proper Remedys thereto—MSS."

One peculiarity of Pepys's librarianship—characteristic enough—was his habit of replacing old editions by new ones. This can be proved by comparing entries in the *Diary* (1659–1669) with the Library as it now stands. Nor can it be doubted that he "made the King pay for" many of the books. Nearly every volume shows some signs of Pepys's laborious care for his library, regarding which his final instruction was that "as far as any room shall be left for further improvements or embellishments to my books by Ruling, Elegant writing or Indexing, the same be done."

[By Mr. Sidgwick's arrangement with the Master and Fellows of Magdalene, he was enabled to exhibit some volumes chosen from the Pepysian Library, including the Chaucer in the binding mentioned in the *Diary*, July 8, 1664; some specimens of early English printing by H. Pepwell, R. Pynson, and Wynkyn de Worde (several of which came from Richard Smith's sale in 1682); and a vellum *Horae* printed for Simon Vostre at Paris in 1515].

Previous to the January Meeting, the following Annual Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the *News-Sheet*:—

ANNUAL REPORT.

(1.) During the past year the Bibliographical Society has had to mourn the loss of two of its original Members, Sir Thomas Brooke and Mr. R. S. Faber. Sir Thomas Brooke served for several years on the Council, and was elected a Vice-President at the last Annual Meeting. He was the owner of a fine library, the books in which were always placed generously at the disposal of students, and his genial presence assured him a special welcome at our meetings. By the death of Mr. Faber, a few days before Christmas, the Society has sustained a still heavier loss. When in the first year of its existence, its original Hon. Secretary, Mr. Talbot Baines Reed, was seized with his fatal illness, it was Mr. Faber who temporarily filled his place; he scarcely ever missed a meeting either of the Society or the Council, was invaluable in any emergency, and as President from December, 1904, to January, 1907, discharged his duties with conspicuous success. As it was his wish that the association of his family with the Society should be maintained after his death, Mrs. Faber has been at once elected as a Member.

(2.) During the past year new members have been elected to fill all vacancies, and the financial condition of the Society has been all that could be wished. A volume of *Transactions* is being issued simultaneously with this report, and with it a *Bibliography of Richard Bentley*, by Mr. A. T. Bartholomew, with an introduction and chronological table by Mr. J. W. Clark, purchased on very favourable terms from Messrs. Bowes and Bowes for distribution. The Council greatly regret that Mr. Campbell Dodgson has been unable to finish the monograph on Hans Weiditz which has already been mentioned in several Annual Reports. When it became certain at the end of August that it would not be forthcoming, the census of Caxtons by Mr. Seymour de Ricci was pushed on vigorously to supply its place. It is now all in its second proof, and will shortly be sent to press. Good

progress has also been made during 1908 with the Dictionary of the English Book Trade, 1557-1640, which Mr. McKerrow is editing for the Society, with Mr. Plomer as his chief worker, and also on Part IV of the Handlists of English Printers. Mr. Esdaile's Handlist of English Novels and Romances has unfortunately had to be laid aside on account of its author's severe illness, but will be taken up again as soon as his recovery is completed. A similar list of English editions and translations from the classics printed before the end of 1640 has been prepared for the Society by Miss Henrietta Palmer, and will be printed with the paper on it read by Mr. Victor Scholderer last March as an introduction. Mr. T. J. Wise has also promised to compile for the Society a bibliography of Coleridge, but the date at which this will be ready cannot yet be fixed. A 10th Volume of *Transactions* will be put in hand early in the year, and will contain, in addition to the papers read during the present session, a first General Index to our *Transactions*, and also a classified list of the more notable books published since 1893 on subjects with which the Society is concerned.

(3.) The publication of a new list of the books in the Society's Library at the end of our last volume of *Transactions* has brought the Society a large number of valuable gifts from the Prince d'Essling, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. George Dunn, and other donors. The Society's books have been well cared for in the temporary quarters assigned to them in the Library of the London School of Economics, and it is hoped that they will soon be moved to the position promised them. Since the removal of the books from Hanover Square, Mr. Archibald Clarke's other duties have made it difficult for him to continue his care of them. He has, therefore, resigned his honorary librarianship, and the Society will be asked at the Annual Meeting to pass a vote of thanks to him for his services. The Council have nominated Mr. Victor Scholderer to succeed Mr. Clarke as Hon. Librarian. The Council takes this opportunity of acknowledging the valuable services rendered to the Society by the Hon. Secretary, whose exertions have been freely given for many years. In order to render him

some assistance, Mr. Scholderer has been appointed as Assistant Secretary, a post which has been allowed to lapse since the resignation of the late Mr. John Macfarlane.

BALANCE SHEET.—1st January, 1908, to 31st December, 1908, inclusive.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Balance, 1907...	117	0	2
Entrance Fees	10	10	0
Life Subscriptions	25	4	0
Subscriptions for 1906 & 1907	8	8	0
British Subscriptions for 1908	201	12	0
United States Entrance Fees and Subscriptions, 1908 ...	81	16	9
Foreign Subscriptions for 1908	29	8	0
Subscriptions for 1909 ...	8	8	0
Sale of Publications	32	0	6
Interest on Investments ...	10	18	7
	£525	6	0

Cr.	£	s.	d.
Printing and Distribution ...	167	16	1
Illustrations	18	7	9
Insurance of Stock of Publications	2	7	3
Copying and Researches ...	38	7	4
Re-purchase of Society's Publications	1	0	0
Vote for Library	10	7	6
Sub. to Proctor Memorial ...	10	10	0
Rent	25	0	0
Expenses of Meetings ...	7	17	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	4	7	0
Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	2	4	5
Bank Charges	0	4	6
Balance, 31st December, 1908	235	16	2
	£525	6	0

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

I have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

9th January, 1909.

ALEXR. NEALE, *Auditor.*

Assets.	£	s.	d.
£300 2½% Consols Bonds @ 84	252	0	0
£100 4% N.S.W. Bond ...	103	5	0
Stock of Publications ...	300	0	0
Balance of Account for 1908	235	16	2
Subscriptions in arrear ...	9	9	0

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
Estimated Liability for 28 Life Members	294	0	0
Estimated cost of completing books for the year and of other Printing	240	0	0

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting for the reception of the Council's Report and the election of Officers and Members of Council was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, January 18th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. G. R. Redgrave, in the Chair.

After the reading of the Minutes of the last Annual Meeting the President alluded to the fresh loss which the Society had sustained within the last few days by the death of another of its Vice-Presidents, Lord Amherst of Hackney, the catalogue of whose fine library would always remain a memorial of his enthusiasm and skill as a collector.

The Secretary was instructed to offer the sincere sympathy of the Society to Lord Amherst's family.

The adoption of the Annual Report was then moved by the President, who alluded again to the great services rendered to the Society by Mr. Faber. Both as regards its work and its finances the Society was in a very prosperous condition, and he hoped this prosperity would long continue.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Archibald Clarke for his services as its Hon. Librarian for a great number of years. The removal of the library to the School of Economics having made it impossible for Mr. Clarke to continue to supervise it, Mr. Victor Scholderer was appointed Hon. Librarian in his place.

Mr. H. B. Wheatley was elected as a Vice-President of the Society, and on the motion of Mr. George Potter, seconded by Mr. F. W. Bourdillon, the following gentlemen were elected as Members of Council: Mr. A. J. Butler, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. Lionel Cust, Mr. W. W. Greg, Dr. J. Wickham Legg, Mr. R. B. McKerrow, Mr. A. W. K. Miller, Dr. J. F. Payne, Mr. Frank Sidgwick, Mr. H. R. Tedder, Mr. Charles Welch, and Mr. T. J. Wise. As noted by Mr. Potter, this involves two changes as compared with last year's Council, Mr. Welch and Mr. Wise taking the place of Mr. Cyril Davenport and Mr. Wheatley.

On the motion of Mr. Redgrave, Mr. G. K. Fortescue, Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, was elected President for 1909. Mr. Fortescue then took the chair and proposed a hearty vote of thanks to his predecessor, whose monograph on Erhard Ratdolt, as Chancellor Christie noted at the time, had started the Society on its career of prosperity, and

who had given his help ungrudgingly at every opportunity. The vote of thanks was very cordially carried, and the Annual Meeting then closed, its proceedings throughout having been unanimous.

JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS.

At the close of the Annual Meeting the fourth Monthly Meeting of the Session was held at 5.20 p.m., the new President, Mr. G. K. Fortescue, in the Chair. Mr. A. J. Butler read a paper on *the Gioliti and their Press at Venice.*

On Monday, February 15th, and on Monday, March 15th, the President, Mr. Fortescue, in the Chair, Mr. G. F. Barwick and Mr. S. Gaselee read papers respectively on *Some Eighteenth Century Magazines* and on the *Bibliography of Petronius.*

All these papers are printed in full in the present volume.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE *THOUGHTS* OF MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

By J. WICKHAM LEGG.

Abstract read, 16th November, 1908.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE reflection that no bibliography can possibly be complete is almost enough in itself to forbid a student from undertaking such a task, were it not that he is encouraged by another thought that though no bibliography can be complete, yet the worst is better than nothing. Hardly anything has, to my knowledge, yet been attempted in the way of a full bibliography of the *Thoughts* or *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The notes in Brunet and Grässe may readily be added to: a recent American writer, in his life of this Emperor, has made mention of some of the more prominent versions into the modern languages.[1] George Long has also a few notes on editions in the Introduction to his Version. But beyond these somewhat elementary collections it does not seem that much has hitherto been done by the bibliographer. So it occurred to me that by an attempt in this line I might make some imperfect return to the book for being my companion for near forty years. Hence this present essay; which cannot but prove unworthy of its noble subject.

(1) P. B. Watson, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, London, Sampson Low, 1884, p. 310.

In compiling this bibliography my first aim has been to make my notes from the books themselves. It will be seen at once how much the list owes to the Library of the British Museum. After that unrivalled collection, Bodley's Library at Oxford, and the National Library at Paris, have afforded me most material: and I venture to express my warmest thanks for the help so ungrudgingly given by our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Alfred W. Pollard, and by Mr. G. F. Barwick, Superintendent of the Reading Room of the British Museum. I have also to remember with gratitude the help given by Mr. Arthur W. Kaye Miller in all matters connected with the interpretation of the catalogue, and by Mr. R. Nisbet Bain in Slavonic matters. At the Bodleian Library Mr. Falconer Madan and Dr. Cowley have proved never failing friends. In the foreign libraries that I have visited I have everywhere met with the greatest courtesy and good will. I am under special obligations to Monsignor Giovanni Mercati at the Vatican, to Monsieur Viennot at the National Library at Paris, and to Dr. Bernhard Lundstedt and Dr. Robert Geete at the Royal Library of Stockholm. To Monsieur Faminsky I am indebted for a list of Russian editions which cannot be met with in English libraries, and the addition of which therefore much increases the value of the bibliography. To Dr. Hans Effenberger I owe very kind help in the University Library of Prague.

The work of preparing a catalogue or a bibliography commonly passes among mankind as the *ne plus ultra* of Dryasdust toil. Slightly altering Murphy's Johnson it might be said:

> "The drudgery of books the damn'd would know
> Doomed to write catalogues in endless woe."[1]

But I would not have it thought that the work in putting together the following bibliography has been to me mere joyless labour. Something perhaps of the pleasure felt by the fisherman or the hunter may be had by the bibliographer when a rare edition is discovered in some out-of-the-way library, and the weariness of the journey is forgotten in the joy of a fresh addition to the list.

(1) Arthur Murphy, *An essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1792, p. 82.

Names.

The names given to the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus are very numerous and none of them predominates. In the Greek we have for a title *τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ'*. In Latin, we have *De seipso seu vita sua libri xii.* Later on there is *De seipso et ad seipsum libri xii.* followed by *De rebus suis sive de eis quae ad se pertinere censebat Libri xii.* which is the title given by Gataker. Early in the eighteenth century *Eorum quae ad seipsum libri xii.* occurs, plainly only a translation of the Greek, while later in the same age the work is called *Pugillaria*, and *Commentarii quos ipse sibi scripsit*, or in the nineteenth century, *ad seipsum commentarii morales.*

In English, Meric Casaubon gave this work of Antoninus the name of *Meditations concerning Himself:* Jeremy Collier, *his conversation with Himself.* The translation by the unidentified James Thomson is called the *Commentaries of the Emperor.* The late Mr. George Long named his version *Thoughts.* Dr. Rendall uses the simple title: *To himself.* In 1898 appeared a name which can hardly be spoken of with approbation: *The golden book of Marcus Aurelius.* This title is usually given to a mediæval forgery passing under the name of Antoninus, and of a character quite different from the work which is now being dealt with.[1]

In an early French translation the title given is *Institution de la vie humaine.* But in the middle of the seventeenth century a version appears with the title of *Pensées morales;* towards the end of the century, the title *Reflexions morales* is seen. *Pensées* or *Réflexions* are hereafter very common names in French. *Morale de l'Empereur* comes late in the eighteenth century, and soon goes out of use.

The first version into Italian may be that of Cardinal Francis Barberini who speaks of the twelve books of Antoninus as *di se stesso ed a*

(1) See J. F. Kelly, *Littérature espagnole*, Paris, Libr. Armand Colin in *Histoires des Littératures*, 1904, p. 165. The name *golden book* does not always appear in the Spanish editions of Guevara's imposture, but it will be found in a French version of 1531 from which it may have been borrowed by Lord Berners in 1534. Grässe himself confuses the *golden book* with the *meditations* (*Trésor de Livres rares*, Dresde, 1859) but this is no excuse for the action of the Secretary to the British Academy.

se stesso, communemente intitolati della sua vita. In the latter half of the eighteenth century we find *Reflessioni morali*, plainly a translation from the French. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century *Ricordi* makes its appearance.

I do not find a translation into German before the eighteenth century, and even this is not from the Greek but from the French: it is entitled: *Allgemeiner Tugend-Spiegel oder der Kern moralischen Gedancken des vortrefflichen Käysers.* Later on there is: *Erbauliche Betrachtungen*, a title, which, with *Betrachtungen*, holds the field for some years. At the end of the eighteenth century there may be found *Unterhaltungen mit sich selbst.* In the middle of the nineteenth century *Meditationen* comes into use, with *Selbstgespräche* or *Selbstbetrachtungen.*

Versions into the Norse languages I have not found before the middle of the eighteenth century: they have for title *Opbyggelige Betragtninger over sig selv*, and *Betraktelser öfwer Sig Sielf*, with *Leveregler for sig selv*, or *Betragtninger* alone.

One of the versions into Spanish has simply the heading *Los doce Libros del Emperador* which can hardly be called a name; but in the next year, 1786, appeared an edition with the title *Pensamientos escogidos.*

Versions.

From these foregoing notes it will be seen that translations into Latin, English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and the Norse languages are extant. But besides these we have versions into Czech, Polish, and Russian, and even into the Persian, this last by the distinguished Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Doubtless others exist that I have not yet been able to meet with.

Dedications.

Princes seem to be much exposed to the dedicators of this work. To a successor of Antoninus in the Roman Empire, Charles VI. Roman Emperor-elect, some five editions of a German translation were dedicated.

The *editio princeps*, being an edition of a manuscript belonging to Otto Henry, Elector Palatine, was naturally dedicated to that prince. Christina, Queen of Sweden, received the dedication of a good number of editions of a translation into French, while a Swedish version of the eighteenth century was dedicated to the Crown Prince, Gustaf.

The French version of de Joly was dedicated to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI. and a Spanish version to the Prince of Asturias, afterwards Charles IV. Also Frederick William III. King of Prussia, accepted the dedication of a new German version in 1799.

To William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, were dedicated the editions containing the version into English by Meric Casaubon; but his edition of the Greek text published in 1643 was dedicated to Selden.

Cardinal Francis Barberini dedicated his version in a grotesque manner: To his own rational and immortal soul. For which act he gives a number of fantastic reasons, and the curiosity of the whole may be sufficient excuse for printing it below, as follows:

Alla razionale, ed immortale anima propria.

Parrà superbia, che io dedichi a te questo libro, portando l'vso che le dedicatorie si faccino a grandi, e potenti personaggi. Però secondo che insegna il medesimo, del quale non sono che puro interprete, dei esser come principal regina e dominante riconosciuta. Se bene per non hauer tu messo in opera nella scorsa vita di tant' anni quello, che con il lume della natura da vn gentile si espone, dubito, che in vece d'accrescerti fasto, ti farà piu della porpora arrossire. Onde à mia confusione dir posso.

P. c. 12. *Che la colpa è pur mia; che più per tempo,*
Doue' aprir gli occhi, e non tardar al fine:
Che a dir il vero omai troppo m' attempo.[1]

E perciò lasciando quello, che in nulla suampa, e di ritoccare senza giouamento il passato, potrai approfittarti nell' auuenire, e quanto è piu

(1) Mr. George Holden, the Sub-Librarian of All Souls, has had the kindness to point out to me that these lines are to be found in Petrarch, *Trionfo della Divinità*, 10–12. This is sometimes quoted, says Mr. Holden, as Cap. 12, and is what the 'P. c. 12' in the margin means.

breue il tempo, che ti resta d' esser meco, tanto maggiormente studiar il contenuto di queste carte, e migliorarne.

Se poi dedicando si confida di riceuer protezione, e difesa: niuno credo sarà più amoreuole a compatirmi, e così à difendermi, di te, che per lunga età sei stata il mio meglio, benche troppo negli errori miei, e con tuo maggior danno, facile a condescendermi. Di più è tuo in gran parte quello, che hò trauagliato; il che se non piacesse a coloro, che non amano saluo le cose esteriori, tu non hai da curartene; stante che la materia è da essi totalmente aliena: spero bene, che agli animi, che godono dell' interna considerazione non habbia ad esser discaro, che vedendosi in tante lingue pubblicata, e commentata vna mera, ideale, e finta vita di M. Aurelio, si sia trascurato, che la vera, scritta da lui medesimo in Greco, si legga, lasciando da parte le traduzioni latine, dagl' Inglesi, e da' Francesi negl' idiomi loro recate, e che l'Italia doue Aurelio nacque, visse per lo più, ed hebbe la Sedia dell' Imperio, non la veda nella sua fauella. Se poi sentissi a dire, che la versione non sodisfacesse; potrai respondere, che sia facile il migliorarla, e mandar questi fogli al pizzicagnolo da insalsarsi, mentre si scioccamente ho ardito d' intraprendere vn impresa di gran lunga eccedente il mio ingegno, e sapere. Ancorche forse potrebbe questo mio ardire, se merita tal nome vn buon desiderio, scusarsi; come rendersi sopportabile la semplicità colla quale contenendomi nella mera volgarizazione anche in alcune parole di diminutiui, quali sono, *carnuccia*, *sanguuccio*, *animucce*, e simile di cui, per auuilire, e stremare l'opinione, e'l pregio delle cose humane, frequentemente valeuansi gli Stoici, ho cercato, per quanto è stato possibile, di non iscostarla da'sensi del Greco, doue, o per lo stretto modo di dire vsato dagli medesimi, o perche M. Aurelio scriuendo *Di se stesso*, *ed a se stesso*, supponeua per auuentura molte cose, che tralasciaua d' esprimere, si desidera in più luoghi la chiarrezza della sentenza. Del resto mi persuado, che in questa volgarizazione si trouino degli errori, e che però riesca all' interprete ciò che riferiua Vrbano Ottauo di S. M. detto da vn suo Zio di vno, che volenda mostrarsi versato nella lingua Greca, altro non facesse, che palesare di non saperne. Onde haurai pazienza, se così sentirai dire di noi, e ti consolerai con il sostenere la buona intenzione di giouare ad altri, e che se alcuno per amore di questa bell' opera degna d' vn gran Cesare, e filosofo non si muoue à ben voltarla, lo faccia per collera mosso dalla bile, che questa mala versione gli suegliasse quando che m' appago di non palesarmi, o più oltre pubblicare a chi dedico, e consagro il volume; pregando Dio, che ogni godimentoti dia, doue è la vera, ed eterna gloria.

One other point with regard to dedications may be mentioned.

It appears that between the years 1862 and 1869 some American publisher reprinted Mr. George Long's translation of Antoninus without permission, and dedicated the edition to an American. Not unjustly, Mr. Long thought himself aggrieved by this behaviour, and prefixed to the edition of 1869 the following note:

NOTE.—I have been informed that an American publisher has printed the first edition of this translation of M. Antoninus.

* * * *

I have also been informed that the American publisher has dedicated this translation to an American. I have no objection to the book being dedicated to an American; but in doing this without my consent the publisher has transgressed the bounds of decency. I have never dedicated a book to any man, and if I dedicated this, I should choose the man whose name seemed to me most worthy to be joined to that of the Roman soldier and philosopher. I might dedicate the book to the successful general who is now the President of the United States, with the hope that his integrity and justice will restore peace and happiness, so far as he can, to those unhappy States which have suffered so much from war and the unrelenting hostility of wicked men.

But as the Roman poet said,

Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni;

and if I dedicated this little book to any man, I would dedicate it to him who led the Confederate armies against the powerful invader, and retired from an unequal contest defeated, but not dishonoured; to the noble Virginian soldier, whose talents and virtues place him by the side of the best and wisest man who sat on the throne of the Imperial Caesars.

EDITORS.

The attraction of Antoninus for many and differing minds is shown in the great variety of men who have been moved to edit or translate him. We have amongst his editors a Roman prelate like Cardinal Francis Barberini; a non-juring bishop like Jeremy Collier; a prosperous Dean like Dr. George Stanhope; seventeenth century scholars like Meric Casaubon and Gataker, with Dacier and his wife; a mere theologian like Grabe; a *lieutenant des chasses* like de Joly; a time server like Thomas Rousseau; and we may contrast amongst editors a visionary like the younger Capel

Lofft, who issues his edition from New York, published in the year of the freeing of the Republic, 1861, by which it may be presumed that he means the liberation of the negro slaves, with a real Stoic, like George Long, who would have dedicated his famous version to "the noble Virginian soldier," General Lee, who led the armies of the Slave-owning Confederate States. Of George Long it has been said that "no one ever lived the life recommended by Marcus Aurelius more completely."

Others have edited Antoninus as a classic, without much attention to his teaching. But those who have been led to study the Emperor's writings for what he has to say to them are far more numerous, and of these there are many who have no place in the republic of letters. In some cases, indeed, little seems to be known of them beyond the fact that they have translated or edited Antoninus.

It may be mentioned here that there is to be found in the Royal Library at Munich a small lithographed book, containing a selection from the *Thoughts* of Antoninus, made by Maximilian II. King of Bavaria. It runs to near a hundred octavo pages. It is interesting to note that a man called to an office not unlike that of Antoninus should have found satisfaction in choosing and arranging that which most struck him in the utterances of the Emperor, and committing them to print for the use of himself and his friends.

It has been thought that it might increase the value of these lists of editions if a short biographical note of each editor were added, omitting always the names of those believed to be still living, furnishing either the sources of information, or failing any definite life or notice, stating what it has been possible to gather about them. In some cases the name has been omitted altogether, simply from want of information beyond that contained in the title page of the edition.

Francis Barberini, the first cardinal named by his uncle, Urban VIII. was no mere Pope's nephew, but a scholar to whom the Barberini Library, now removed to the Vatican, owes much. It may not be

rash to attribute to the influence of the Cardinal the number of editions of Antoninus to be found in this Barberini Library. The famous Morinus dedicated to him his work *de Sacris Ordinationibus*, the publication of which marks a revolt from the mediæval teaching on Holy Orders; and Nicholas de Bralion also dedicated to him his tract on the pallium. The Cardinal died in 1679, aged 82. (L. Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, Roma, Pagliarini, 1793, t. vi. p. 238.)

Jules Barthélemy-Saint Hilaire, 1805–1895, scholar and politician. (*Notice historique*, Paris, 1899, by George Picot.)

Christian Bastholm, 1740–1819, author of several theological works. (*Dansk Biografisk Lexicon.*)

Ioann. Francisc. Buddaeus, 1667–1729, born at Anclam, professor of theology at Jena; a prolific writer. (Zedler.)

Meric Casaubon, 1599–1671, prebend of Canterbury. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Jeremy Collier, 1650–1726, Non-juring bishop. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Diamant Coray, born at Smyrna in 1748, died 1833. Greek scholar, physician, and philhellene. (Vapereau.)

André Dacier, 1651–1722, French scholar, worked with his wife, Anne, 1654–1720. (*Nouvelle Biographie générale.*)

Johann Friedrich Dübner, 1802–1867, classical scholar, living mainly in France. (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie.*)

Pardoux Du prat (in Latin, Pardulphus Prateius), 1520–1570, French lawyer, wrote many works on the law, and also edited some of the Greek classical writers. (*Nouvelle Biographie générale.*)

Thomas Gataker, 1574–1654, Rector of Rotherhithe. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Richard Graves, the younger, 1715–1804, Rector of Claverton. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, 1774–1856, orientalist and prolific writer. (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*)

Johann Adolph Hoffmann, philologer, was born in Plon and took his degree as *Magister* at Leipzig in 1725. He died on Nov. 17, 1731. (Zedler and Joecher.)

John Hudson, 1662–1719, Bodley's Librarian. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Francis Hutcheson, 1694–1746, professor of moral philosophy. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Richard Ibbotson, or Ibbetson, of Ledstone, Yorkshire, fellow of Oriel College, 1700, Archdeacon of Exeter, died 1731, aged 52. (*Alumni Oxonienses.*) Grabe suggested and helped in Ibbotson's edition. (Th. Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, Oxford Historical Society, 1885, vol. i. p. 239. See also vol. ii. p. 104.) Suggestions also came from John Hudson. (See I. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, ed. Harles, Hamburg, 1796, vol. v. p. 510.)

Jean Pierre de Joly was born at Milhau, in Rouergue, in the South of France, on June 9, 1697, and died on December 7, 1774. He was "lieutenant des chasses" at Vincennes. He seems to have done little but edit Antoninus. (Quérard.)

Adamantius Koraes, *see* Diamant Coray.

Capell Lofft, Junior, 1806–1873, classical scholar and poet. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

George Long, 1800–1879, classical scholar and Roman lawyer. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Henry McCormac, 1800–1886, physician and hygienist. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Michele de Milano, count and antiquarian collector in the nineteenth century.

James Moor, 1712–1779, professor of Greek. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Samuel Friedrich Nathanael Morus, 1736–1792, theologian, of Leipzig. (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie.*)

Pierre Alexis Pierron, 1814–1878, Greek scholar. (Vapereau.)

Pardulphus Prateius, *see* Pardoux Duprat.

Johann Wilhelm Reche, 1764–1835. By profession a minister, he made attempts to introduce the philosophy of Kant into the evangelical confession, and he also interested himself in hymnology. (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie.*)

Louis Madeleine Ripault, 1775–1823, private librarian to Napoleon Buonaparte, when first consul. (Vapereau.)

Thomas Rousseau (or L[e] C[itoyen] T. Rousseau, or L. C. C. Rousseau) versifier, died in 1800. In 1780 he presented to the King, Louis XVI. a poem of the most fulsome flattery. In 1793 and 1794 he published *Le Cri de Mqrt contre les Rois, nouveau Chant de guerre*, and *Les Crimes de la Monarchie, et les vertus de la République.* (*British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*, and Quérard.)

Amadeus Sally, *theologus hetaerianus*, wrote *Dissertationem de titulo retinendo immaculatae Conceptionis Deiparae Virginis*, Coeln, 1651, in 8°. (Zedler, under Salyus.) and *Breviarium Christianae Chronologiae*, Lyons, F. La Bottiere, before 1644. (Bodley's Catalogue.)

Johann Matthias Schultz, 1771–1849, philologer. (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, under *Schulz.*)

Joh. Georg Schulthess, of Zürich, 1724–1804. Swiss clergyman, who filled up his spare time by editing the classics. (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie.*)

George Stanhope, 1660–1728, Dean of Canterbury. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

James Thomson. There seems no reason for connecting this translator of Antoninus with the author of the *Seasons*. The two are indeed contemporaneous, but the name is not very unusual.

Christoph Wolle, Lutheran minister, born at Leipzig in 1700, a prolific writer. (Zedler.)

Xylander (in German, Wilhelm Holzmann), born at Augsburg in 1532, taught Greek at Heidelberg in 1558, but died by his own hand in 1576. (Zedler.)

NOTEWORTHY EDITIONS.

The editions of the *Meditations* are numerous; but they are not to be compared in number with those of a book like the *De imitatione.* To make a provisional statement which is sure to be upset later on, it would seem that the seventeenth century produced some 26 editions or issues; the eighteenth 58, the nineteenth 81, while the twentieth during the eight years of its existence has already brought forth 28 editions.

To begin with the earliest edition that we know of.

Xylander's is considered to be the *editio princeps*; but a question arises, which of the two issues of this edition known to exist is to be considered the earlier? the one has no date on the title page; the other, which differs only in this single respect, bears date 1559. Has the date dropped out of the forme, or was it added with the intention of lengthening the period of copyright granted for three years? In both issues the dedication is dated at Heidelberg the first of October, 1558, and this date may be allowed some influence in determining the priority of issue. The *editio princeps* has generally been assigned by those who have spoken of it to the year 1558, and I suppose this must be allowed.

The small Latin edition in 16° of Xylander printed at Lyons bears distinctly the date 1559. It will hardly be able to dispute priority with the Zurich edition, notwithstanding that it claims on the title page: *nunc primum editi.*

The pagination of the prefatory matter of the *editio princeps* is irregular and curious in both issues: it has been, however, satisfactorily explained by our honorary Secretary. It would seem that two compositors set up this sheet, one regarding it as Sheet A, with pagination accordingly of 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15; the other regarding it as Sheet B, with pagination accordingly of 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29: the truth of this theory can be demonstrated by means of a model sheet.

Meric Casaubon's version into English was published at least four times in the seventeenth century. He also edited a Greek text in 1643, but this so far as I know was printed but once. A scholar of the same age

with Casaubon, Thomas Gataker, edited the Greek text in 1652, and this recension was published again at London in 1697 and 1707 under the editorship of George Stanhope, the Dean of Canterbury; and again at Utrecht with Gataker's other works in 1697.

A version into French first published in 1651 had considerable vogue in its time. There seems to be no doubt that the version was made or edited by a Swede. It is dedicated to Queen Christina and dated "Paris, le 15 Octob. 1650." The initials attached to the book are B.I.K. Whom these initials represent seems to be doubtful. There are two claimants put forward. One is Balbisky, to whom Quérard,[1] with others, gives his support. The initials B.I.K. are to be found in the name Balbisky. The other is Baron Jean Kruus, and the initials are found without any forcing. According to Arckenholtz this latter claimant translated Malvezzi into Latin, as well as the *Meditations* of Antoninus into French.[2]

The last edition of this version into French by a Swede seems to have appeared in 1681, after which the edition of the Daciers came to the front. What looks like the first edition of the Daciers was published at Paris in 1690–91; and its issue was immediately followed by the printing of a certain number of Dutch editions, possibly pirated, all very like each other, at the Hague, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, and the notes of Monsieur and Madame Dacier forthwith enrich the later editions of Casaubon, Gataker, and Jeremy Collier. Two reprints of the Daciers with "fourth edition" on the title appeared at Amsterdam, one in 1710 published by John Walters, and the other in 1714 by David Mortier. It may be suspected that these are the same but with varying title pages. A fifth appeared also at Amsterdam in 1740 issued by l'Honoré and Son, again not without suspicion of fraud of some kind. This fifth edition was translated into Italian and published in 1772 at Udine.

(1.) J. M. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, Paris, 1854–57, t. xi. auteurs pseudonymes, t. i. p. 17.

(2.) Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede*, Amsterdam and Leipzig, P. Morlier, 1751, vol. i. p. 333. A. A. Stiernmann (*Anonymorum Centuria Prima, ex scriptoribus gentis Suiogothicae*, Holmiae, J. L. Horrn, [1724], part i. p. 18) says: Auctor est L. B. *Johannes Jesperi Kruus.*

Cardinal Barberini's edition must not be forgotten amongst those of the seventeenth century. The first matter to be discussed is the question of the existence of an edition of 1667. Mazzuchelli affirms that an edition in 8° was published at Rome by Jacobo Dragondelli in 1667. It might be thought that here there was but an error in date, for all else would describe accurately the later edition of 1675. But Mazzuchelli speaks distinctly of another edition of 1675.[1] Though I have been through a good number of Italian libraries yet I have never been able to find any edition but that of 1675, and it will be confessed that the existence of the edition of 1667 is not yet proved, in spite of the very distinct statement of Mazzuchelli.

I have seen at least a dozen copies of this edition of 1675, and I have not perceived in them any material difference from one another. The size is octavo: there are two titles. The first runs thus: I dodici libri | di | Marco Aurelio | Antonino | Imperadore | di se stesso, ed a se stesso | Communemente intito- | lati della sua Vita tras- | latati dal Greco. |

There is below the title an engraving with a medal of the Emperor and a legend around his head: ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡΗ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟϹ. The second title is as given below in the bibliography. The text has 23 lines to the page and the printed surface varies from 117-121 mm. in height to 53–55 in breadth. The Barberini bee occurs in some of the blank spaces at the end of the books, for example, on pp. 43, 181, 327, 383. This edition has the merit of giving various readings.

A selection from the *Thoughts* in German verse had appeared as early as 1705, or even, according to Preuss, in 1701. These were only based upon the French. In 1723 appeared Hoffmann's edition of a version made direct from the Greek itself which was to go through five editions, and be itself translated into Norse.

The version into English by James Moor and Francis Hutcheson was published by Foulis in 1742 and appeared in at least four editions. The

(1) G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1758, vol. ii. parte i. p. 291.

Greek text, following Gataker and Richard Ibbetson, was published by the same printer in 1744.

In 1747 appeared a new translation[1] by James Thomson which went through, we know, three editions. This version deserves to be noticed because a friend has framed a theory that this James Thomson is one and the same with the author of the *Seasons*. The poet was alive at the time of the first publication of this translation, but he died on August 27, 1748. The translation of Antoninus is not contained in the edition of the poet's works published in 1750 immediately after his death. Also I have not yet been able to discover any writer who attributes the version of Antoninus to the author of the *Seasons*. Yet it would seem almost certain that the booksellers would have proclaimed the name of the poet, had he been the author of the translation of Antoninus, in the hope of promoting a better sale of the edition. At the present moment I have not discovered anything whatever about the James Thomson who was the translator of this edition.

In 1742 appeared a beginning of the work which Pierre de Joly was to carry out in the editing of Antoninus. The translation in this edition is not new, but there is a new arrangement and notes which are ascribed to de Joly.[2] Afterwards, in or about 1768, de Joly put forth a specimen of a new translation, reaching only as far as the first book, merely in fact 24 pages. He also published in the *Journal des Sçavans* for 1768, two articles setting forth his proposed manner of dealing with Antoninus.[3] De Joly published his complete version into French in 1770 and a second edition appeared in 1773, the reputed year of his death; and in 1774 appeared his Greek text, in which he gave the results furnished by collating the Greek manuscripts of Antoninus then known, of which he gives a list in his preface. The books and chapters are re-arranged according to de Joly's ideas. A reprint of de Joly's translation appeared as late as 1850.

(1) It is announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1747, p. 300, but without the name of James Thomson.

(2) Quérard, *La France littéraire*, Paris, 1830, t. iv.

(3) *Journal des Sçavans*, Janvier, 1868, p. 43, and Septembre, 1768, p. 671. The letter of September was printed separately, and a copy is in the British Museum.

This may be a fit place to inquire about the divisions into books and sections that editors have adopted.

The *Meditations* were known to be divided into twelve books as early as the time of Suidas,[1] whatever that was; and the *editio princeps* of Xylander, based upon a manuscript now lost, shows the same number of divisions: the Vatican manuscript, Gr. 1950, shows divisions between most of the books. The little notes at the end of the first and second books, which tell us where the books were written, are wanting in this manuscript, but still spaces of two or three lines appear, marking a separation between the books. This Vatican manuscript, in the opinion of Monsignor Giovanni Mercati and Dr. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, is of the fourteenth century. It is the only complete manuscript that we have now; and it is almost certain that it is not the Heidelberg manuscript which Xylander edited.[2] It will be seen how slender a thread links on the *Thoughts* of Antoninus to modern times.

Thus the earliest and most authoritative division seems to be into 12 books. But *Meditations* and *Thoughts* thrown together much as

(1) Οὗτος ἔγραψε τοῦ ἰδίου βίου ἀγωγὴν ἐν βιβλίοις ιβ'. (Suidas, *Lexicon*, post Th. Gaisfordum, Halis et Brunsvigae, 1853. *Sub voce* Μάρκος ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος. Besides Suidas we have earlier testimonies to the work of Antoninus. Themistius, who lived in the fourth century after Christ (Or. vi. c. 81., p. 97 Dind.), and Arethas, a writer of the sixth century (in epistula inedita ad Demetrium Heracleensem. Cod. Mosq. 315, fol. 115, Sonny *Philologus*, liv. p. 182). For these references I am indebted to I. H. Leopold's edition, under the head of *Testimonia*.

(2) My friend Monsieur Henri Omont has had the kindness to send me a list of the manuscripts of Antoninus now in the National Library at Paris. They are: MS. Grec. 2649, fo. 174, by James Lascaris. Also: MSS. grecs 1000, fol. 101; 1698, fol. 79; 2075, fol. 394; Coislin, 341, fol. 322vo; suppl. grec. 1164, fol. 3vo.

Other manuscripts, also imperfect, are spoken of by I. H. Leopold (Oxford, 1908) and I. Stich (Teubner, 1903), from whose works the following references are taken:

Darmstadt, 2773, fo. 348–358.
Munich, gr. 323, ff. 9, 19–20, 88–90.
,, 529, fo. 134–143.
Vatican, 953, fo. 73–80, fo. 244–245.
,, 20, p. 86–94.
,, 98, p. 57–75.
,, 100, p. 165–180.
,, 926, p. 27–52.
,, Barberini, ii; 99, p. 1–3.
Florence, Laurent. 55, 7, ff. 251, 260, 265–271.
,, ,, 59, 17, ff. 81–85.
,, ,, 74, 13, ff. 240–245.
,, ,, 59, 44, ff. 207–221.
Oxford, Canonici Gr. 69.
Wolfenbüttel, 77, p. 389–401.
Venice, St. Mark's, xi. 1, pp. 31, 61, 85.
,, ,, xi. 15, p. 77–92.

they occurred to the writer lend themselves readily to the re-arranging of editors. In another famous collection of *Pensées*, those of Pascal, the suggestions of the original manuscript began to be followed only in the last century. So that it is not surprising to find that in the *Réflexions* published at Paris in 1742, the editor thought himself at liberty to give up the old division into 12 books, and to divide the work into 36 chapters, *distribuées par ordre de matières*. It would seem that we owe this new distribution to de Joly. The translation into French is not new, but the re-arrangement of the *Meditations* is claimed as something fresh. It is continued in de Joly's fragmentary proposal for a new edition in 1768, and in the new edition itself of 1770. The same has been done in de Joly's Greek edition of 1774. So also in the French Dresden editions of 1754 and 1786. In the Stockholm translation into Norse of 1755 the text has been likewise arranged in 36 chapters.

Another editor, Thomas Rousseau, who from an abject courtier became a bloodthirsty Republican, followed in the steps of de Joly in departing from the original 12 books. He arranged the *Meditations* in 25 chapters. In a later edition he re-arranged the work in eight chapters, again sub-divided into 24 sections, and he does not conceal his annoyance with those who hinted that he was unable of himself to edit the *Meditations*. But the value of his translation may perhaps be appraised when we find him rendering: Σωκράτην δὲ ἄλλοι φθεῖρες ἀπέκτειναν, [iii. 3] into: Socrate, assailli par les prêtres, meurt victime de leur scélératesse hypocrite. After this we understand why he blames de Joly as: aussi froidement fidèle à son original que les Daciers . . . son style est énigmatique, sa traduction aride et glaciale.

In the Vatican MS. Gr. 1950, there appear here and there initials in red scattered over the manuscript; but a definite division of the books into sections does not appear in Xylander's edition, nor earlier, that I know of, than the Lyons edition of 1626. Meric Casaubon also adopts a division of the books into numbers or sections. Gataker would seem to have adopted the division which has been most widely followed by editors;

such as Jeremy Collier, Moor and Hutcheson, Capell Lofft, George Long, Stich, Leopold, and others.

Johann Matthias Schultz published in 1799 a version into German followed shortly by an edition of the Greek text in 1802. This was stereotyped by the Tauchnitz firm in 1820. The version does not seem to have been reprinted. A German version by F. C. Schneider appeared in 1857, again in 1865 and 1875.

At the end of the eighteenth, or beginning of the nineteenth, century, an attempt was made to bring out an *édition de luxe* of the *Thoughts* of Antoninus. The translation of the Daciers furnished the text, and two engravings by Moreau the younger adorned the pages. No more sumptuous edition appeared for a hundred years; in 1902 Messrs. Bell reprinted in 4° the version of George Long.

Pierron's version which appeared in 1843 has enjoyed a certain amount of popularity, a fifth edition being issued in 1886.

Within the last twenty years new translations into English, French, and German have appeared: of the English, Dr. Rendall's and Mr. John Jackson's may be mentioned; of the French, Michaut's and Couat's; of the German, Otto Kiefer's. The Greek text has been collated afresh with the manuscripts by Stich and Leopold, and to show the popular interest taken by the English in Antoninus it may be well to point out the appearance of numerous reprints of the old translations into English, such as those of Meric Casaubon, Jeremy Collier, Graves, with that of Moor and Hutcheson in the Foulis edition. The reprints of some of these old versions have followed each other so quickly that they seemed, if such were possible, to threaten the supremacy of the old-established translation by George Long.

II.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

M. Antoni | ni Imperatoris | Romani, et Philosophi | De seipso seu vita sua Libri XII. Græcè & | Latinè nunc primùm æditi, Guilielmo Xy| landro Augustano interprete: | qui etiam Annotationes adiecit. | Marini Neapo-|litani de Procli vita | et Foelicitate Liber: | Græcè Latinéq; nunc primum publicatus, | Innominato quodam interprete, | adiestis † itidem Scholijs. | E Bibliotheca Illustrissimi | principis Othonis Henrici. | Cum privilegio in triennium. | Tiguri apud Andream | Gesnerum F.| 8°.

Bodley's; Cambridge; Victor Emmanuel, Rome; Upsala; University, Copenhagen; University, Würzburg; Munich.

Another issue, the last line of the title reading: Gesnerum F. M.D.LIX.

B.M.; John Rylands, Manchester; Munich; Leyden; University, Vienna.

M. Antoni-|ni imperatoris | romani, et philoso-|phi De seipso seu vita sua | Liber XII. nunc pri|mum editi,| Guilielmo Xylandro |Augustano interprete: qui etiam Anno-|tationes adiecit. |

Marini Neapoli-|tani de Procli vita | & Fœlicitate liber: nunc primùm | publicatus, Innominato quodam in-|terprete, adiectis itidem Scholijs. | E bibliotheca Illustrissimi principis | Othonis Henrici. | Lugduni. | apud Ioan. Tornaesium, | 1559. | 16°.

A reprint of the Latin of Xylander. No Greek.
In all copies collated, save that at Pisa, the final s in 'Scholijs' is omitted.
B.M.; Cambridge; University, Pisa; Victor Emmanuel, Rome.

SYMBOLS OF LIBRARIES:

B.M. - - British Museum.	Leyden - - University Library, Leyden.
Bodley's - Bodleian Library, Oxford.	Lucca - - Biblioteca governativa, Lucca.
Cambridge - University Library, Cambridge.	Lund - - University Library, Lund.
Ch. Ch. - - Christ Church, Oxford.	Munich - - Royal Library, Munich.
Christiania - University Library, Christiania.	Paris - - National Library, Paris.
Darmstadt - Hofbib. Darmstadt.	Stockholm - University Library, Stockholm.
St. John's - St. John's College, Oxford.	Upsala - - University Library, Upsala.

This symbol ○ indicates that the edition or copy has not been seen by the editor.

An obelus after a word indicates that the word has been reproduced precisely as printed.

It has been thought well, as a rule, to name only three or four of the libraries in the case of the more common editions.

M. ANTONI
NI IMPERATORIS
ROMANI, ET PHILOSOPHI
De seipso seu vita sua Libri XII. Graecè & Latinè nunc primùm editi, GVILIELMO XYLANDRO Augustano interprete: qui etiam Annotationes adiecit.

MARINI NEAPOLITANI DE PROCLI VITA
ET FOELICITATE LIBER:
Graecè Latinèq; nunc primum publicatus, Innominato quodam interprete, adiectis itidem Scholijs.

E BIBLIOTHECA ILLVSTRISSIMI principis Othonis Henrici.

CVM PRIVILEGIO IN TRIENNIVM.

TIGVRI APVD ANDREAM Gesnerum F.

Title page of the undated issue of the First Edition.

Antoni-|ni liberalis | transformatio-|num congeries. | Phlegontis Tralliani | de Mirabilibus & longæuis | Libellus. | Eiusdem De Olympiis fragmentum. | Apollonii Historiæ Mirabiles. | Antigoni Mirabil. narrationum congeries. | M. Antonini Philosophi Imp. Romani, de | vita sua Libri XII. ab innumeris quibus antea scate | bant mendis repurgati, & nunc demum | verè editi. | Græcè Latinéq; omnia, Guil. Xyland-|dro August. interprete: cum An-|notationibus & Indice. |

Basileae, per Thomam Guarinum, | M. D. LXVIII. | 8°.

Greek and Latin edition by Xylander.
B.M.; Bodley's (2 copies); Paris (3 copies); Upsala; Vatican (2 copies); University, Genoa; Lucca.

Institution | de la vie | humaine, | Dressee par Marc Antonin Phi-|losophe, Empereur Romain. | Remonstrance d'Agapetus Eues-|que, à l'Empereur Iustinian, de | l'office d'vn Empereur, ou Roy. | Elegie de Solon Prince Athenien | sur le fait, & vie des humains, la | cause des ruïnes des villes. | Le tout Traduit, par Pardoux du | Prat, Docteur és Droits. | A Lyon, | A l'Escu de Milan, Par la vesue | Gabriel Cotier. | 1570. | Auec Priuilege du Roy. | 8°.

Paris.

M. Antonini | Ro: Imp: de vita sua | Lib XII. ad animi tran-|quillitatem fortuna tam secunda | quàm adversa parandam per | quàm vtiles.

Antonini Liberalis me-|tamorphoseon collectanea. | Phlegontis Tralliani de | rebus miris, deque longæuis lib. | Eiusdem de ludis Olympicis fragm. | Apollonii historiæ admirandæ. | Antigoni admirandarum narra-|tionum collectanea. | Gulielmo Xylandro in-|terprete: cum annotationibus | et indice. | Impensis Lazari Zetzneri Bibliopolę. | Argentinæ, CIↃ IↃ XC. | 8°.

A reprint of Xylander's edition in Greek and Latin.
Cambridge; Leyden; Munich; Lund.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | Ἀυτοκράτορος καὶ | φιλοσόφου τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, | Βιβλία ιβ. |

Marci Antonini | Imperatoris & Philosophi, de | vita sua Libri XII. | Græcè & Latinè. | Opus ad mores insigne, nunc primùm Latinæ | inter-

pretationis è regione Græci contextus, | & numerorum ac distinctionis | ad nouas | quasque sententias | appositione illustratum. | Accessit | Marini Proclus item | Græcè & Latinè. | [Ornament] | Lugduni, | Sumptibus Francisci de la Bottiere, in | via Mercatoria. | M.DC. XXVI. | permissu superiorum. | 12°.

Dedicated to P. de Seve. Edited by Amadeus Sally or Saly. The Latin version is probably that of Xylander. The books are divided into sections.
B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge; Arsenal, Paris; Christiania; Upsala; Munich.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the Roman Emperor, | his Meditations | concerning Himselfe: | treating of a naturall | Mans happinesse; Wherein it consisteth, and of the | meanes to attaine unto it. | Translated out of the | Originall Greeke; with Notes: | by | Meric Casaubon, B. of D. and Prebendarie | of Christ Church, Canterbury. | Ecclus. 18. 8. | What is man, and whereto serveth he? | What is his good, and what is his evill? | Ibid. 37. 3. | O wicked imagination, whence camest thou in, to cover the | Earth with deceit? | London, | Printed by M. Flesher, for Richard Mynne, in | Little Britaine at the Signe of S. Paul. | M DC XXXIV. | 4°.

Version into English; no Greek or Latin text.
Dedicated to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
B.M.; Bodley's; St. John's; Ch. Ch.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the Roman Emperour, | his meditations | concerning Himselfe: | treating of a naturall | Mans happinesse; Wherein it consisteth, and of | the meanes to attaine unto it. | Translated out of the | Originall Greeke; with Notes: | by | Meric Casaubon, B. of D. and Prebendarie | of Christ Church, Canterbury. | The second Edition; with a Table containing | the Principall matters in the Booke. | Ecclus. 18. 8. | What is man and whereto serveth he? | What is his good, and what is his euill? | London, | Printed by M. Flesher, for Richard Mynne, in | Little Britaine at the Signe of S. Paul. | M DC XXXV. | 4°.

Version into English: no Greek or Latin text.
Also dedicated to Laud.
B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge; Vatican (Barberini).

Μάρκου | Ἀντονίνου | αὐτοκράτορος καὶ | φιλοσόφου τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, | βιβλία ιβ. | Marci Antonini | Imperatoris et Philosophi, de | vita sua Libri XII. | Græcè et Latinè. | Opus ad mores insigne, nunc primum Latinæ | interpretationis è regione Græci contextus, et | numerorum ac distinctionis ad nouas quasque | sententias appositione illustratum. | Accessit | Marini Proclus item | Græcè et Latinè. | [an ornament] Lugduni, Et venundantur | Parisiis, | Apud Guillelmum Pelé, viâ Iacobæâ, sub | signo Crucis Aureæ, | M. DC. XXXV. | 12°.

Is this the edition of 1626 with a new title page?
Ch. Ch.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | Ἀυτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβ. ιβ. | Marci Antonini | Imperatoris | De Seipso Et Ad Seipsum | libri XII. | Guil. Xylander Augustanus | Græcè & Latinè primus edidit: | Nunc verò, | Xylandri Versionem locis plurimis emen-|davit, & novam fecit: in Antonini libros | Notas & Emendationes | adjecit | Mericus Casaubonus | Is. F. | In eosdem Xylandri Annotationes. | Londini, | Typis M. Flesher, sumptibus R. Mynne | in vico vulgò dicto Little Britaine, sub | Insigne S. Pauli, MDCXLIII. | 8°.

Greek text, with version into Latin on opposite page.
Dedicated to Selden.
B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge; Christiania; Royal Library, Copenhagen; Vatican (Barberini); Munich.

Pensées morales | de | Marc Antonin | Empereur; | De soy, et à soy-mesme. | En douze liures, | Traduits du Grec. | [Device] | A Paris, |

Chez { La Veuue I. Camusat, / et / P. L. Petit Imprim. / et Libr. ord. du Roy. } { ruë S. Iacques, / à la Toison d'or, / et / à la Croix d'or. }

M. DC. LI. | Auec Priuilege du Roy. | 18°.

Dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden, by B. I. K. "Paris, le 15. Octob. 1650." M. de Joly says he was a young Swede. Milano says that B. I. K. are the initials of Benedict Jasper Krus. The Catalogue of the Casanatense at Rome says: forte D. Balbiski cuius meminit Placius in 12° Amsterdam, J. de Ravensteyn, 1655.m. XI. 2.
Paris; Vatican (Barberini).

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβλία | ιβ'. |

Marci | Antonini | Imperatoris | de rebus suis, sive de eis qæ† ad se | pertinere censebat, | Libri xii, | Locis haud paucis repurgati, suppleti | restituti: | Versione insuper Latinâ novâ; Lectionibus item | variis, Locisqe;† parallelis, ad margi- | nem adjectis; | Ac Commentario perpetuo, explicati atqe† | illustrati; | Studio operâqe† | Thomæ Gatakeri | Londinatis. | [a line] | Cantabrigiæ: | Excudebat Thomas Buck, celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographus. | Anno Dom. MDCLII. | Veneunt ibidem per Antonium Nicolson, Bibliopolam. | 4°.

It was a peculiarity of Gataker to leave out the *u* after *q*.

B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge; Ch. Ch.; Lund; Vatican (Barberini); Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Pensées morales | de | Marc Antonin | empereur; | De soy, & à soy-mesme. | En douze livres, | Traduits du Grec. | [Device: bees, rose, and buds] | A Amsteldam, | Chés Jean de Ravesteyn. | M DC LV. | 12°.

Dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden, by B. I. K.

One of the Upsala copies has, under Amsteldam, in writing: Elzevier.

Bodley's; Cambridge; Exeter College, Oxford; Upsala (two copies).

Pensées morales | de | Marc Antonin | Empereur; | De soy, & à soy-mesme. | En douze liures, | Traduits du Grec. | [a flower] | A Paris, | Chez Claude Barbin, dans | la grande Sale du Palais, au signe | de la Croix. | M. DC. LVIII. | Auec Priuilege du Roy. | 12°.

Dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden; signed B. I. K.; dated Paris, 15. Octob. 1650.

Arsenal, Paris.

Pensées Morales|de|Marc Antonin|Empereur de soy & a soy|mesme|a Amsteldam,|Ches Iean Ravesteyn. A°. 1659.|[The title page is engraved, and in its upper part is a medallion portrait of the emperor, surrounded by the words: Marc Antonin Empereur et Philosophe.] 12°.

Dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden.

Bodley's; University, Copenhagen; Munich; ° Magdalen College, Oxford.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the | Roman Emperour, | his | meditations | Concerning Himself: | Treating of a natural man's | happiness; Wherein it consisteth, and | of the means to attain unto it. | Translated out of the Original Greek; | with notes: | by | Meric Casaubon, D.D. and Prebendary | of Christ-Church, Canterbury. | The Third Edition; revised and corrected by the Author. | Ecclus. 18. 8. | What is man, and whereto serveth he? | What is his good, and what is his evil? | London, | Printed by James Flesher, for Fra. Mynne, in Little | Britain at the sign of S. Paul. M DC LXIII. | 8°.

Dedicated to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Cambridge.

°I dodici Libri di Marco Aurelio Antonino Imperadore di se stesso, ed a se stesso, in Roma per Jacobo Dragondelli, 1667. 8°.

Taken from G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1758. Vol. ii. parte i. p. 299. The existence of this edition is doubted.

Les | pensées morales | de | Marc Antonin | Empereur, | de soy, & à soy-mesme. | En douze livres, | Traduits de Grec en François. | [a basket of flowers] | A Paris, | Chez Iacques Cottin, Marchand | Libraire, au cinquiéme pilier de la | grande Salle du Palais, | à l'Escu | de France. | M.DC. LXIX. | 12°.

In Preface: Et voicy l'autre en François mais faite par un Suedois.
Arsenal, Paris.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the | Roman Emperour, | his | Meditations | concerning Himself: | Treating of a Natural Man's | Happiness; Wherein it consisteth, and | of the Means to attain unto it. | Translated out of the Original Greek; | with Notes: | by | Meric Casaubon, D.D. and Prebendary | of Christ-Church, Canterbury. | The Fourth Edition. | Ecclus. 18. 8. | What is man, and whereto serveth he? | What is his good, and what is his evil? | London, | Printed for, and are to be sold by Charles Harper at the | Flower-de-Luce over against St. Dunstans Church | in Fleet-street, 1673. | 8°.

Dedicated to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
B.M.; Cambridge; ° University, Aberdeen.

I dodici libri | di | Marco Aurelio | Antonino | imperadore | di se stesso, ed a se stesso | Communemente intito- | lati della sua Vita | tras- | latati dal Greco. | Con varie Lezioni de testi Greci e | con vn ristretto di notizie intorno | alla nascita, azioni, e morte | del medesimo, estratto da | più Istorici. | [small ornament] In Roma. | Per Giacomo Dragondelli. 1675. | [a line] Con Licenza de' Superiori. | 8°.

The title page is preceded by a bastard title reading: I dodici libri | di | Marco Aurelio | Antonino | Imperadore | di se stesso, ed a se stesso | Communemente intito- | lati della sua Vita tras- | latati dal Greco. | Under this is an engraving with a medal of the Emperor, his head surrounded with the legend: AYT. KAI. M. AYPH ANTΩNEINOC.

All Souls, Oxford; Vatican (Barberini); Angelica, Rome; Corsini, Rome; B. nazionale, Florence; B. Riccardiana, Florence; B. Marucelliana, Florence; B. communale, Bologna; Ambrosiana, Milan; Arsenal, Paris.

Μάρκου Ἀντονίνου† | Ἀυτοκράτορος, τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, | βιβλία ιβ'. |

Marci Antonini | Imperatoris. | De seipso & ad seipsum, | Libri XII. | Recogniti & notis illustrati. | [Engraving of Sheldonian Theatre] | Oxoniæ, | E Theatro Sheldoniano. | Anno 1680. | 16°.

This edition is attributed to George Stanhope. Greek, with Latin version, based on Xylander's.

B.M.; Bodley's; Christiania; Bib. Civica Beriana, Genoa.

Pensées Morales | de | Marc Antonin | Empereur; | De soy, et à soy-mesme. | En douze Livres, | Traduits du Grec. | [Ornament: a basket of flowers] | A Paris, | Chez Nicolas le Gras, dans la | grand' Sale du Palais, au troisiéme | Pilier, à L. Couronnée. | M. DC. LXXXI. | Avec Privilege du Roy. | 12°.

Dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden.

Royal Library, The Hague; Munich; Arsenal, Paris.

I DODICI LIBRI
D I
MARCO AVRELIO ANTONINO
IMPERADORE
DI SE STESSO, ED A SE STESSO
Communemente intitolati della ſua Vita traslatati dal Greco.

Bastard title of the Italian version of 1675.

I DODICI LIBRI
DI
MARCO AVRELIO
ANTONINO
IMPERADORE
DI SE STESSO, ED A SE STESSO
Communemente intitolati della ſua Vita traslatati dal Greco.

Con varie Lezioni de teſti Greci e con vn riſtretto di notizie intorno alla naſcita, azioni, e morte del medeſimo, eſtratto da più Iſtorici.

IN ROMA.
Per Giacomo Dragondelli. 1675.

Con Licenza de' Superiori.

Title page of the Italian version of 1675.

Reflexions | morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin | avec des remarques. | Tome premier. | [Publisher's device] a Paris. | Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le | second Perron de la sainte Chapelle. | [a line] M. DC. XCI. | Avec Privilege du Roy. | 8°.

The same title is in the second volume, but with the change of *tome premier* into *tome second*; and the date is 1690. This is the translation of Monsieur and Madame Dacier, as appears by the *Privilége du Roi* printed at the end of the life of Antoninus, in the first volume.

The copy in B.M. bears the arms of William III. with the cypher of George III. added.

B.M.; Signet Library, Edinburgh; Paris; University, Pisa; Arsenal, Paris (first volume only).

Reflexions | morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin | avec des remarques | De Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Seconde Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome Premier. | [Device: Minerva with a globe and library, in a roundel, with *Lege sed elige* beneath] a la Haye, | Chez Henry van Buldern, Marchand | Libraire, dans la Pooten, à l'Enseigne de | Mezeray. | M.DC. XCI. | 12°.

The same title for the second volume, with change of *second* for *premier*.

Royal Library, Copenhagen; Royal Library, Hanover.

Reflexions | Morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin | avec des remarques | De Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Seconde Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome premier (second). | [Device: a hollow globe with ecliptic, etc.] | A Amsterdam, | Chez Abraham Wolfgang, | prés de la Bourse. | M.DC. XCI. | 12°.

Ch. Ch.; Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Royal Library, The Hague; Leyden.

Another issue: Reflexions | morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin; | avec des remarques | de Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Seconde Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome second. | Amsterdam 1691. |

Contains Books 6–12.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

Another issue: [Device: a hollow globe with ecliptic] | A Utrecht, Chez François Halma, Impri- | meur Ordinaire de l'Université. | M.DC.XCI. | 12°.

University, Edinburgh; Royal Library, Brussels; ° University, Glasgow.

The | Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | the | Roman Emperor, | Concerning Himself. | Treating of a Natural Man's Happiness: | Wherein it consisteth, and of the Means to | attain unto it. | Translated out of the Original Greek; | with notes: | By Meric Casaubon, D.D. | The Fifth Edition. |

To which is Added, | the Life of Antoninus: | with some | select Remarks upon the Whole. | By Monsieur and Madam Dacier. | Never before in English. | London, | Printed for A. and John Churchill in Pater-noster- | Row; and Sam. Smith and Tho. Bennet in | St. Paul's Church-yard, 1692. | 8°.

B.M.; Trinity College, Cambridge.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, | βιβλία ιβ'. |

Marci | Antonini | Imperatoris, | de rebus suis, sive de eis quæ ad se pertinere censebat, | Libri XII. | Locis haud Paucis Repurgati, Suppleti, Restituti: | Versione insuper Latina Nova; | Lectionibus item variis, Locisque parellelis ad Marginem adjectis: | ac | Commentario perpetuo | Explicati atque Illustrati. | Studio Operâque | Thomæ Gatakeri, Londinatis. | [a line]

Huic Secundæ Editioni accessere | Annotationes Selectiores A. D'Acerii | Latinitate donatæ, | Necnon | Marci Antonini vita, | Passim aucta, & Idoneis Scriptorum Veterum Testimoniis firmata; | à Geo. Stanhope, Coll. Reg. apud Cantabr. quondam Socio. | [a line]

Londini: Impensis Edw. Millingtoni, in Vico vulgò dicto Little-Britain. | Veneunt apud Bibliopolas Londin. & utriusque Academiæ 1697. | 4°.

Dedicated to Lord Sommers. (*thus.*)

B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge; Arsenal, Paris; Christiania; Upsala; University, Pisa.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | Βιβλία ιβ'. |

Marci | Antonini | imperatoris | de rebus suis, sive de eis qæt ad se pertinere censebat, | Libri XII. | Locis haud paucis repurgati, suppleti, restituti: | Versione insuper Latinâ novâ; Lectionibus item variis, Locísqe† parallelis, | ad marginem adjectis; | Ac Commentario perpetuo, explicati atqe† illustrati; | Studio operâqe† | Thomæ Gatakeri. | Adduntur etiam | Merici Casauboni in Marcum Antoninum notæ. | cum indicibus tum Auctorum citatorum, explicatorum, emendatorum, illustra- | torum, tum rerum & verborum copiosissimis, locupletissimis, certissimis. | [engraving: a woman showing picture of harvest to a soldier, with motto; Cultior his vita est.] Trajecti ad Rhenum, |

Apud { Franciscum Halmam, / Guilielmum vande Water, / Antonium Schouten. } Bibliopolas

Anno Domini M DC XC VII. | folio.

This is the second volume of the *opera critica* of Thomas Gataker. Antoninus extends from p. 1 to p. 432 of this second volume.

Cambridge; Royal Library, Brussels; Mazarine, Paris; Upsala; Lund; Victor Emmanuel, Rome; University, Würzburg; University, Munich; University, Vienna.

There are two other issues of this edition with slight variations of the title page.

The | Emperor | Marcus Antoninus | his | Conversation | with Himself. | Together | With the Preliminary Discourse of the Learned | Gataker. | As also, | The Emperor's Life, Written by Monsieur D'acier, | and Supported by the Authorities Collected by | Dr. Stanhope. | To which is added the Mythological Picture of | Cebes the Theban, &c. | Translated into English from the Respective Originals, | By Jeremy Collier, M.A. | London: | Printed for Richard Sare, at Grays-Inn-Gate in Hol- | born. MDCCI. | 8°.

B.M.; Bodley's; Ch. Ch.; Magdalen College, Oxford.

Μάρκου | Αντονινου† | Ἀυτοκράτορος | Τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν Βιβλία ιβ'. | Marci Antonini | Imperatoris | Eorum quæ ad seipsum Libri XII. | Recogniti

& notis illustrati. | [Engraving of Sheldonian Theatre] Oxoniæ, | E Theatro Sheldoniano. | Anno MDCCIV. | Impensis Ant. Peisley, & Geor West. Bibliop. | 8°.

Greek with Latin version. It is said to be a reprint of Gataker. The Dedication is signed R. I. (Richard Ibbotson.)

B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge.

Allgemeiner | Tugend-Spiegel | oder | Der Kern Moralischer | Gedancken | Des vortrefflichen Käysers | Marci Aure- | lii Antonini | Philosophi, | Von und an Sich Selbst: | Samt einen Anhang gleichmässiger | Gedancken | Einer Durchl. Damen. | Aus dem Frantzösischen ausgezo- | gen, und zur Zeitvertreib Reimweise | übersetzet, | von | Petro Stolten. | [ornamental line] | Rostock, | Verlegts Johann Friedr. König, | Buchhändler. | Gedruckt bey Niclas Schwiegerauen, | E.E. Raths Buchdr. An. 1705. | 8°.

According to Preuss an earlier edition appeared in 1701. It is a selection turned into verse.

B.M.

Reflexions | Morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin | avec des remarques | De Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Troisiême Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome Premier (second). | [engraving of a candle alight with motto: aliis inserviendo consumor] A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Wolters, 1707. | 8°.

With a life of M. A. Antoninus; Dedicated to Mgr. de Harlay, Premier President.

Tome ii. in the copies noted, is said to be of the second edition. The division into two volumes is made in Sheet S, S2 being the last of vol. i. S3 the first of vol. ii.

Arsenal, Paris; Angelica, Rome; Munich; °Upsala; University, Copenhagen.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος, | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, | βιβλία ιβ'. | Marci | Antonini | Imperatoris, | De rebus suis, sive de eis quæ ad se pertinere censebat, | Libri XII. | Locis haud paucis Repurgati, Suppleti, Restituti: | Versione insuper Latina Nova; | Lectionibus item variis, Locisque parallelis ad Marginem adjectis: | ac | commentario perpetuo | Explicati atque illustrati. | Studio Operâque | Thomæ Gatakeri, Londinatis. | [a line] Huic Tertiæ Editioni accessere | Annotationes Selectiores

A. Dacerii | Latinitate donatæ, | necnon | Marci Antonini Vita, | Passim aucta, & idoneis Scriptorum Veterum Testimoniis firmata; | à Geo. Stanhope, Coll. Reg. apud Cantabr. quondam Socio. | [a line] Londini, | Apud Davidem Mortier, in Vico vulgò dicto The Strand, 1707. | 4°.

Dedicated to Lord Sommers (*thus*).
Upsala; Royal Library, Dresden.

The | Emperor | Marcus Antoninus | his | conversation | With Himself. | Together | With the Preliminary Discourse of the | Learned Gataker. | As also, | The Emperor's Life, Written by Monsieur D'acier, | and Supported by the Authorities Collected by | Dr. Stanhope. | To which is added the Mythological Picture of | Cebes the Theban, &c. | Translated into English from the Respective Originals. | By Jeremy Collier, M.A. | The Second Edition Corrected. | London: | Printed for Richard Sare, at Grays-Inn Gate in | Holborn, MDCCVIII. | 8°.

Bodley's; Cambridge.

Reflexions | morales | de | l'empereur | Marc Antonin, | avec des remarques | De Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Quatriéme Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome premier. | [Engraving: a candlestick with a lighted candle; under it: aliis inserviendo consumor] A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Wolters, 1710. |

Second volume.

Reflexions | morales | de | l'empereur | Marc Antonin; | avec des remarques | De Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Seconde Edition, ou l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome second. | 12°.

Vol ii. begins with Sign. M 6.
Paris; Munich; University, Vienna.

Reflexions | Morales | de | l'Empereur | Marc Antonin, | Avec des Remarques | de Mr. & de Mad. Dacier. | Quatrième Edition, où l'on a mis les Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome premier (second). | [Wood-

cut of statue of Erasmus] A Amsterdam, | Chez David Mortier Libraire. | M D CC XIV. | 12°.

Vol. ii. begins with Sign. M 6.
Trinity College, Cambridge; Victor Emmanuel, Rome.

Des | Römischen | Käysers | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | Erbauliche | Betrachtungen | über Sich Selbst. | Aus dem Griechischen übersetzet, | Und nebst | Kurtzen Anmerckungen, auch mit Seinem Leben | Vermehret | Durch | Iohann Adolf Hoffmann. | [engraving: a printer's case being shown to Time by a cupid] Hamburg, | Bey Theodor Christoff Felginer, 1723. | 8°.

Dedicated to Charles VI. "erwählter Römischer Kayser"; dated 12 Jan. 1723. In twelve books. The Darmstadt copy has no engraving.
Darmstadt; University, Vienna; Lund; °Copenhagen.

The | Emperour | Marcus Antoninus | His | Conversation | with Himself: | Together with the | Preliminary Discourse | of the | Learned Gataker: | As also, | The Emperour's Life; | Written by Monsieur D'acier, and Supported by | the Authorities collected by Dr. Stanhope. | To which is added | The Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban, &c. | Translated into English from the Respective Originals, | By Jeremy Collier, M.A. | The Third Edition, Corrected. | London: | Printed for the Executors of Richard Sare, | and sold by R. Williamson, near Grays- | Inn-Gate in Holborn, MDCCXXVI. | 8°.

Upsala; Editor.

Another issue: printed for "J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fay-|ram, | J. Pemberton, R. Williamson, | J. Hooke, | C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, and E. Sy- | mon. M.DCC.XXVI." |

The word Emperor is spelt without the *u* in this issue, and Dacier without an apostrophe.
B.M.; Cambridge; University, Munich; Merton College, Oxford.

Des | Römischen Kaysers | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | erbauliche | Betrachtungen | über Sich Selbst. | Aus dem Griechischen übersetzet, | Und nebst | Kurtzen Anmerckungen, auch mit Seinem Leben | vermehret | durch | Johann Adolf Hoffmann. | Zweyte Auflage |

[engraving: a printer's case being shown to Time by a cupid.] | Hamburg, bey seel. T. C. Felginers Wittwe. 1727. | 8°.

Dedicated to Charles VI. Emperor elect.
Christiania; Upsala.

° Antonini . M . Aurel . Imperat . ac philosophi Commentarii libri XII. eorum quae de se ipso ad se ipsum scripsit ad exemplar Oxoniense M D CC IIII. recusi.—Introductionem ad philos. stocicam ex mente M. Antonini praemisit Fr. Buddeus. Vitam rec. criticisque observationibus illustravit *Chph. Wolle.* Gr. et lat. 8 mai. Lipsiae 1728. Walther. (*W. Vogel.*)

From E. Preuss, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*, Leipzig, 1880. Abth. I. p. 147.
Possibly the same as the following edition:

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ'. | Marci Antonini | imperatoris ac philosophi | libri XII | eorum quae de seipso ad seipsum | scripsit | ad exemplar Oxoniense CIↃ IↃ CCIIII | recusi | [a line]

Introductionem | ad | philosophiam stoicam | ex mente M. Antonini | praemisit | Ioan. Franciscus Buddeus | Theol. D. et P. P. Ienens. | Vitam | recensuit criticisque observationibus | illustravit | Christophorus Wolle A.M. | Theol. Bacc. et ad Aed. D. Petri Cat. | [a line] Cum privilegio pot. Reg. Pol. et Elect. Sax. | [a line] Lipsiae | apud Samuel. Beniamin. Walther. | CIↃ IↃ CC XXIX. | 8°.

Imprint: Lipsiae, | litteris Breitkopfianis. |

Greek text with Latin version; said to be a reprint of Gataker.
B.M.; Royal Library, Brussels; Upsala; University, Munich.

Des | Römischen Kaysers | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | erbauliche | Betrachtungen | über Sich Selbst. | Aus dem Griechischen übersetzet, | Und nebst | Kurtzen Anmerckungen, auch mit Seinem Leben | vermehret | durch | Johann Adolf Hoffmann. | Dritte Auflage. | [Engraving: a cupid showing a printer's case to Time, different from that of 1727] Hamburg, bey Seel. T. C. Felginers Wittwe. 1735. | 8°.

Also dedicated to Charles VI.
Christiania; Darmstadt.

Житіе | и | дѣла | Марка Аврелія | Антоніна | Цесаря Римскаго | а при томъ | собственныя, и премудрыя | его разсужденія | о себѣ самомъ | съ нѣмецкаго на россіискій языкъ | перевелъ | Академіи Наукъ | Секретарь Сергей Волчковъ | въ Санкт-Петербургѣ | въ 1738, и 1739 году. | [a line] А напечатана | сія книга | по всевысочайшему повелѣнію | 4°.

On the verso of title is the date 1740. This is a Russian translation by Volchkov of a German biography of Marcus Aurelius, to which are added his Meditations. New editions, in octavo, were printed in 1760 and 1775.

University, Bologna.

Reflexions | morales | de | l'empereur | Marc Antonin, | avec des remarques | de Mr. & Mad. Dacier. | Cinquieme Edition; ou l'on a mis les | Remarques sous le Texte. | Tome premier. | [an angel writing, surrounded by books and a globe, under is written: F. Yver fecit 1737.] A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Fils. | MD CC XL. | 12°.

In the copy at the B.M. the second volume bears the title of the Third edition, but leaf M 5 is the last of the first volume; and leaf M 6 is on the title of the second volume.

B.M.; Nazionale, Naples; Munich; University, Vienna; Stadtbibliothek, Köln.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus. | [a line] Newly translated from the Greek: | with Notes, and an Account of his Life. | [a line] Glasgow: | Printed by Robert Foulis; and sold by him at | the College; by Mess. Hamilton and | Balfour, in Edinburgh; and by Andrew | Millar, over against St. Clements Church, | London. MDCCXLII. | 8°.

The translation of the first two books is attributed to James Moor; the rest to Francis Hutcheson. (Bodleian Catalogue.)

B.M.; Bodley's; Ch. Ch.; Chapter Library, St. Ninian's, Perth.

Reflexions | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele | Antonin, | Surnommé | le Philosophe, | Distribuées par ordre de Matieres, avec quelques | Remarques qui servent à l'éclaircissement | du Texte. | [ornament engraved of the Emperor writing in his tent] A Paris, au Palais, | Chez

Denully, Grand' Salle, du côté de la Cour | des Aydes, à l'Ecu de France & à la Palme. | [a line] M. D. CC. XLII. | Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy. | 8°.

Approbation: "Cette traduction qui a déja été imprimée plusieurs fois": but the preface speaks of the new arrangement in 36 chapters; it and the notes are ascribed to de Joly. (See Quérard, *La France littéraire*, Paris, 1830, t. iv.)

Arsenal, Paris; University, Prague.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβλία ιβ'. |

Marci | Antonini | Imperatoris | eorum quae ad seipsum libri XII. | Post Gatakerum, ceterosque, recogniti, et notis illustrati; | a doctissimo viro R.I. Oxoniensi. | Glasguae: | in aedibus academicis, | Excudebat R. Foulis Academiae Typographus. | M DCCXLIV. 8°.

R.I.=Richard Ibbetson.

B.M.; John Rylands, Manchester; Arsenal, Paris; Stadtbib. Köln.

Another issue, with the Greek heading of title omitted, is at Upsala.

The | Commentaries | of the | Emperor | Marcus Antoninus. | containing | His Maxims of Science, and | Rules of Life. | Wrote for his own Use, and address'd to | Himself. | Translated from the Original in Greek, | By James Thomson, Gent. | with | A Short Preface by the Translator, | which may serve for an Introduction to the | Author's Sentiments, concerning the Harmony | and Progress of Universal Nature, and the | Proper Virtues of Human Nature. | [Motto: a line] Quid Verum atque Decens, curo et rogo. | [a line] London, | Printed by T. Parker, for the Translator: | And Sold by Charles Corbett, at Addison's-Head, | over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. | M.DCC. XLVII. | 8°.

B.M.; Bodley's; University, Edinburgh.

Des | römischen Kaisers | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | erbauliche | Betrachtungen | über sich selbst, | aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, | mit Anmerkungen | und | des Kaisers Leben | erläutert | von | Iohann Adolph Hofmann. | Vierte und sorgfältig verbesserte Ausgabe. | [a device and a line] Mit Königl. Poln. u. Churfl. Sächs. allergnädigster Freyheit. | [a line] Hamburg, bey Iohann Carl Bohn. 1748. | [a line]. 8°.

Royal Library, Dresden.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus. | Newly translated from the Greek: with | Notes, and an account of his Life. | Second Edition. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert & Andrew Foulis, | Printers to the University, | MDCCXLIX. | 8°.

In two volumes.

B.M.; °University, Aberdeen; °University, Glasgow.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | Den Romerske Keysers | Opbyggelige | Betragtninger | Over sig selv | Forfattede udi Tolb Boger | Som ere obersatte af det Grædske Sprog | og Forklarede | med | Hr: Johan Adolff Hoffmans | korte Anmerckninger | Saavelsom | Keyserens Levnets Beskrivelse | Saaledes som den af bemelte Hoffman udi | Aaret 1723. i det Tydske Sprog | er samled og udgived. | B. | Odense tryckt Anno 1752. hos Hans Kongl: Maysts: | Priviligerte Provincial Bogtrycker P. W. Brandt. | paa Oversætterens egen bekosining. 8°.

On the verso of the title is: Imprimatur | I: P: | Anchersen | D: |

University, Copenhagen; Royal Library, Dresden.

° Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Den romerske Keysers opbyggelige Betragtninger over sig selv, udi tolv Bøger, oversat og forkl. med. Joh. Ad. Hoffmans korte Anmerckninger saavelson Keyserens Levnets Beskrivelse. Odense, 1752.

This title is taken from the printed catalogue (*Bibliotheca Danica*, ed. by Chr. V. Bruun, iv col. 92. Copenhagen, 1902), the copy itself not being available at time of visit. Is it merely another issue of foregoing?

Christiania.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus. | Newly translated from the Greek: with | Notes, and an account of his Life. | Third Edition. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, | Printers to the University, | MDCCLII. 8°. (in fours).

B.M.; Trinity College, Cambridge; Signet Library, Edinburgh.

Reflexions | de l'empereur | Marc-Aurele | Antonin, | surnommé | le philosophe, | distribuées par ordre de matieres, | avec | quelques

remarques | qui servent | a l'eclaircissement du texte. | Nouvelle edition. | [The reverse of two coins of Marcus Aurelius, with the word Gesner between them] a Dresde, 1754. | Chez George Conrad Walther, | Libraire du Roi. 8°.

Imprint: De l' Imprimerie de P. E. Richter | à Altenbourg. |

Divided into 36 chapters.

B.M.; Christiania; Upsala; University, Vienna.

The | Commentaries | of the | Emperor | Marcus Antoninus: | containing | His Maxims of Science, and | Rules of Life. | Wrote for his own Use, and address'd to Himself. | Translated from the Original in Greek, | By James Thomson, Gent. | with | A Short Preface by the Translator, | which may serve for an Introduction to the | Author's Sentiments concerning the Harmony | and Progress of Universal Nature, and the | proper Virtues of Human Nature. | [Motto:] Quid Verum atque Decens, curo et rogo | The Second Edition. | London: Printed for S. Bladon, at the Paper-Mill, in | Pater-noster Row. MDCCLV.

B.M.

Den | Romerske Keisarens | Marci Aurelii | Antonini | Betraktelser | Öfwer | Sig Sielf; | Jemte bifogade Anmärkningar och Kej | sarens Lefwernes-Beskrifning. | På Swenska öfwersatte | Af | C. M. | [An engraving of the Emperor writing in his tent] Stockholm, | Tryckt hos Lor. Ludv. Grefing, på | egen bekostnad, 1755. | 8°.

C. M. = Christopher Manderström, as the signature to the dedication to the Crown Prince Gustaf testifies.

Divided into 36 chapters.

Stadsbibliotek, Göteborgs; Stockholm; Upsala.

The Upsala copy has no engraving on title page.

Des römischen Kaisers | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | erbauliche | Betrachtungen | über sich selbst, | aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, | mit Anmerkungen | und | des Kaisers Leben | erläutert | von | Iohann Adolph Hofmann. | Fünfte Ausgabe. | [ornament and a line] Mit Königl.

Poln. und Churfl. Sächs. allergnädigster Freyheit. | [a line] Hamburg, bey Iohann Carl Bohn. 1755. 8°.

Munich ; University, Würzburg ; University, Munich.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus. | Newly translated from the Greek : with | Notes, and an account of his life. | Fourth Edition. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert & Andrew Foulis | Printers to the University | MDCCLXIV. | 8°.

In two volumes. Vol. ii. has *Volume Second* in place of *Newly . . . . Edition*, but otherwise the title is alike.

B.M. ; Editor ; ° University, Glasgow.

The | Commentaries | of the | Emperor | Marcus Antoninus. | Translated from the Greek, | By Mr. Thomson. | London : | Printed in the Year, 1747. | Glasgow : | Reprinted by Robert Urie, MDCCLXVI. |

B.M. ; ° University, Aberdeen ; ° University, Glasgow.

Pensées | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin ; | ou | Leçons de Vertu | Que ce Prince philosophe se faisoit | à lui-même. | Nouvelle traduction du grec, distribuée en | Chapitres, suivant les matieres, avec des | notes & des variantes. | Par M. de Joly. | [a sort of *roi en soleil* with roses around] (Pour essai.) | 8°.

No date or printer. A mere fragment ; only 24 pages ; a specimen of translation of the first book. See also two letters "sur la Philosophie de Marc-Aurele, A Messieurs les Auteurs du Journal des Sçavans ; par M. de Joly, 1768."

Paris ; Arsenal, Paris.

Pensées | de l'empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin ; | ou | Leçons de Vertu | Que ce Prince philosophe se faisoit | à lui-même. | Nouvelle traduction du grec, distribuée en | chapitres, suivant les matieres, avec des | notes & des variantes. | Par M. de Joly. [Device] A Paris, | De l'imprimerie de L. Cellot, | Rue Dauphine. | [thick line] M.DCC. LXX. | avec approbation et privilege du roi. | 8°.

Dedicated to the Dauphin ; dated "au Château de Vincennes le 28 septembre 1769."

Arsenal, Paris ; Royal Library, The Hague ; Darmstadt ; Munich ; Upsala.

Réflexions | morales | de l'empereur | Marc Antonin, | avec des remarques. | Nouvelle édition. | Tome premier (second). | a Bouillon, | aux dépens de la Société Typographique. | M.DCC.LXXII. | 12°.

A French version in twelve books.
Christiania ; Upsala.

Reflessioni | Morali | dell' Imperatore | M. Aur. Antonino | con le osservazioni | di Mr. e di Mad. Dacier | Tradotte dalla quinta Edizione | Francese | tomo primo | [a roundel of M. Aur. Anton.] In Udine | Per li Fratelli Gallici. | [a line] M.DCC.LXXII. | Con licenza de' superiori, et privi°. | 8°.

Dedicated to Marc-Antonio Priuli.
Title page engraved. The second volume has the same title with change of *primo* into *secondo* and the roundel is that of the Emperor sacrificing.
Victor Emmanuel, Rome ; St. Mark's, Venice.

Pensées | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin ; | ou | Leçons de vertu | Que ce Prince philosophe se | faisoit à lui-même. | Nouvelle traduction du grec, distri- | buée en chapitres, suivant les | matieres, avec des notes & des | variantes. | Par M. de Joly. | Seconde édition | A laquelle on ajoutera, dans le même ordre, | le texte grec, & la version latine de | Gataker corrigée | [mark of palm and branches] a Paris, | de l'imprimerie de L. Cellot, | Rue Dauphine | [two lines] M.DCC. LXXIII. | avec approbation et privilege du roi. | 12°.

This edition is divided into 35 chapters, not 36.
B.M. ; Arsenal, Paris ; Munich ; Nazionale, Florence.

Another issue: Pensées | de l'empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin; | ou | Leçons de vertu | Que ce Prince philosophe se faisoit | à lui-même. | Nouvelle traduction du Grec, distribuée en | chapitres, suivant les matieres, avec des | notes & des variantes. | Par M. de Joly. | Seconde édition. [ornament] a Paris, | de l'imprimerie de L. Cellot, | Rue Dauphine. | M. DCC. LXXIII. | avec approbation et privilege du Roi. | 8°.

Royal Library, Brussels.

Pugillaria | Imperatoris | M. A. Antonini, | Græcè scripta, disjecta membratim, et quantum fieri | potuit, restituta pro ra- | tione argumentorum. | Sequitur Interpretatio Gatakeri | Londinatis similiter ordinata. | Curante nobili Joanne-Petro De Joly, | Marci-Aurelii Gallico interprete atque | cultore. [ornament] Parisiis, | Apud Ludovicum Cellot, Biblio- | Typographum, viâ Delphinianâ. | M.DCC.LXXIV. | Cum Approbatione, et Privilegio Regis. | 12°.

Preface gives Greek MSS. known, and the Greek text, with the Latin, is arranged after de Joly's distribution.

B.M.; Cambridge; Munich; Parma.

Marci Antonini | Philosophi | Commentarii | Quos ipse sibi scripsit | Lipsiae | sumtu E. B. Schwickerti | cIↃ IↃ ccLxxv. 8°.

The Greek text with a Latin version at the foot of the page; in twelve books. Said by Brunet to be edited by Sam. Fr. Nath. Morus.

Cambridge; B. comunale, Palermo; University, Munich; University, Vienna; Queen's College, Oxford.

Marcus Antonins | Betrachtungen | über seine | eigensten Angelegenheiten. | Aus dem Griechischen übersetzt | von | J. G. Schulthess. | [woodcut of Mercury and Fortune with Cornucopia] Zürich, bey Orell, Gessner, Fueesslin und Compagnie. | 1779. | 8°.

B.M.; University, Munich; Royal Library, Dresden.

Another issue: Bibliothek | der griechischen | Philosophen. | [a line] Dritter Band. | [a line] [Mercury and Fortune as above] [a line] Zürich, bey Orell, Gessner, Füesslin und Compagnie. | 1779.

This issue is the third volume of a collection of the Greek philosophical writers by Schulthess, as above.

University, Prague.

° Betrachtungen über sich selbst, in Auszuge übers. von J. Neidhardt. 8. Wertheim 1779.

From E. Preuss, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*, hsg. Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig 1880. I Abth.

°Сонъ Марка Авреліи, пер. съ Фр. Николай Лѣвицкій. СПБ. 1779 г.

Dream of Marcus Aurelius, translated from French by Lyevitsky.

Los doce Libros | del Emperador | Marco Aurelio | traducidos del griego | por | Don Jacinto Diaz de Miranda. | [Ornament.] En Madrid | En la Imprenta de Don Antonio Sancha | Año de M. DCC. LXXXV. | 8°.

Greek with Spanish Version and notes. Dedicated to the Prince of Asturias.

B.M.; Cambridge; Darmstadt.

Reflexions | de l' Empereur | Marc-Aurele | Antonin, | surnommé | le Philosophe, | distribuées par ordre de matieres, | avec | quelques remarques | qui servent | a l'eclaircissement du texte. | Nouvelle édition. | [Device] a Dresde, 1786. | chez les Freres Walther. | 8°.

From: Collection | des | Moralistes anciens. | Tome premier, | contenant | les Reflexions de l'Empereur Marc-|Aurele-Antonin. |

This text follows the translation, so the preface says, of Mr. and Mde. Dacier; but at the end of each paragraph, the place whence it is taken is given; *e.g.*, Liv. iv. n. lv. after the method of de Joly.

Royal Library, Copenhagen; Royal Library, Dresden.

Pensamientos | escogidos | de las máximas filosóficas | del emperador | Marco Aurelio Antonino, | sacados del espiritu | de los monarcas filósofos; | y puestos en Castellano | por Don Jayme Villa-Lopez. | [a small sun with rays] Con licencia | en Madrid en la imprenta real. | MDCCLXXXVI. | Se hallará en la Librería de Arribas, carrera | de S. Gerónimo frente á la Fontana de Oro. | 8°.

A selection from the *Thoughts*.

B.M.

Bibliotheque | universelle | des dames. | Morale. | Tome Sixieme. | A Paris, | Rue et hôtel Serpente. | Avec Approbation et Privilége | du Roi. | 1787. | 12°.

The 'Réflexions morales de l'Empereur Marc-Aurèle,' begin on p. 89 of this volume, and are continued through the seventh volume up to p. 234. The version follows in the main that of the Daciers.

B.M.

Reflexions | morales | de l'empereur | Marc Antonin, | avec des remarques. | Nouvelle édition. | Tome premier (second). | [Device] A Bouillon, | Aux dépens de la Société Typographique. | M.DCC. LXXXVIII. | 12°.

Divided into 12 books. A bastard title reads: Reflexions | morales | de l'Empereur | Marc Antonin. | Tome i. or Tome ii.

Royal Library, The Hague; Lucca; Nazionale, Florence.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. | A new translation from the Greek | original; with a life, Notes, &c. | by | R. Graves, M.A. | Rector of Claverton, Somerset; | late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon; | and chaplain to the Countess | Dowager of Chatham. [Medallion of Emperor] Bath, printed by R. Cruttwell, | for | G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-noster-row, | London, MDCCXCII. |

B.M.; ° University, Glasgow.

Briefe | zu | Beförderung der Humanität. | [a line] Herausgegeben | von | J. G. Herder. | [a line] Dritte Sammlung. | [a line] Riga, 1794. | bei Iohann Friedrich Hartknoch. |

From p. 25 to p. 33 an extract from Antoninus.
University, Munich.

Pensées | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin, | traduites du Grec | par M. de Joly. [Device] a Paris, | chez Ant. Aug. Renouard. | M.DCC.XCVI. |

Imprint: A Dijon, | de l'imprimerie de L. N. Frantin. | An 4. | 8°.

B.M. A copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale has also the title page of the issue of 1803, *q.v.*

Marc. Aurel. Antonin's | Unterhaltungen | mit sich selbst | Aus dem Griechischen | mit Anmerkungen und Versuchen | zur Darstellung | stoischer Philosopheme | von | Iohann Wilhelm Reche. | [medallion of Antoninus: Gest. v. Ant Karcher, over a line with A. B. in middle.] Frankfurt am Main | in der Andreäischen Buchhandlung | 1797. | 8°.

Paris; Christiania; University, Würzburg; Munich; University, Vienna.

°Духъ, или избранные мысли четырехъ Монарховъ Философовъ: Марка Аврелія, Юліана, Станислава и Фридерика. Перевелъ съ иностраннаго Панкратьевскій Діаконъ И(ванъ) М(ихайловъ). Москва въ Универс. Типогр. 1797 г. 8°.

[Selections translated by Mikhailov.]

Morale | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele Antonin, | Traduction nouvelle. | Ad mores facilis natura reverti. [Ornament] A Paris, | chez Pain, imprimeur, rue | Coquillière, No. 23. | An VI de la République. | [A.D. 1797–98.] 12°.

The *Thoughts* have been rearranged in 25 chapters. The edition is ascribed to L. C. C. Rousseau.

Royal Library, Brussels; University, Naples; °Paris.

Marc. Aurel. Antonin's | Unterhaltungen | mit sich selbst. | Aus dem Griechischen übersetzt. | Mit Anmerkungen und einem Versuche über Antonin's | philosophische Grundsätze begleitet | von | J. M. Schultz, | Conrector an der Königl. Domschule zu Schleswig. | Schleswig, | bei Johann Gottlob Röhss, 1799. | 8°.

Dedicated to Frederick William III. King of Prussia. Version into German, in twelve books. Preuss gives also an edition at Altona by Hammerich.

Christiania; University, Würzburg; ° University, Copenhagen.

Morale | de | Marc-Aurèle, | Empereur Romain. | Par L. C. T. Rousseau. | Quid utile, quid non. | Horat. | A Paris, | chez Blanchon, Libraire, rue Haute- | feuille, No. 11. | A Tartas (Depart. des Landes) | Chez Saint-Ourens, Libraire. | An VII. | [A.D. 1798–99.] 12°.

Claims to have made a new translation. It is not divided into books but into eight chapters again sub-divided into 24 sections.

Ste. Genévière, Paris.

Réflexions | morales | de l'empereur | Marc Antonin, | traduites par Dacier. | Edition ornée de Figures dessinées par Moreau le jeune. | [Mark: P.N.F. with D written over them in an octagon] De l'

imprimerie de Didot Jeune, | a Paris, | Chez Saugrain, graveur, rue du Cimetière S. André, no. 10. | An IX.—(1800.) | Folio.

The two engravings of the book have the date 1801. I find no indications of signatures throughout book.

Paris; Upsala; Ambrosiana, Milan; University, Würzburg.

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου | Αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτόν | Βιβλιά ιβ'. | Marci Antonini Imperatoris | Commenturiorum, | quos ipse sibi scripsit, | libri duodecim. | Graeca ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem | emendavit, | notationem varietatis lectionum | et interpretationem latinam castigatam | adjunxit, | Gatakeri aliorumque notas | cum | suis animadversionibus | indicibusque locupletissimis | adjecit | Joannes Matthias Schultz. | Volumen primum, | Antonini textum Graecum, interpretatio- | nem Latinam et lectionum varietatem | continens. | Slesvici, | sumtibus Joannis Gottlobii Roehss. | MDCCCII. | 8°.

Imprint: Halae Magdeburgicae, | litteris Joan. Jac. Gebaueri. |

The second volume does not seem to have appeared. E. Preuss records another issue at Altona by Hammerich.

B.M.; Cambridge; Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Munich; Royal Library, Brussels.

Pensées | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurele-Antonin, | traduites du grec | par M. de Joly. [Device: Two twisted serpents round an anchor, under a Mercury's cap] A Paris, | chez Ant. Augustin Renouard. | xi.—1803. | 12°.

Imprint: a Dijon, de l'imprimerie de L. N. Frantin. [no An 4.]

This appears to be a reissue of the edition of 1796 with a new title page and an imprint omitting the date An. 4.

Mazarine, Paris; Munich; Nazionale, Naples; Corsiniana, Rome.

Den | Romerske Keisers | Mark. Aurel. Antonins | Leveregler | for sig selv. | Oversatte af det Græske | og | forsynede med oplysende Anmærkninger | af | C. Bastholm, | Doktor i Theologienog Kongelig Confessionarius. | Kiøbenhavn 1805. | Trykt paa den Gyldendalske Boghandlings Forlag | hos Iohan Rudolph Thiele. | 8°.

Paris; University, Copenhagen.

° Antonini Commentarii de se ipso, 1810. Sterotyped edition by Johann Matthias Schulz.

From *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, under J. M. Schulz.

The | Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. | A new translation from the Greek | original; with a life, notes, &c, | by | R. Graves, M.A. | Rector of Claverton, Somerset; | late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon; | and Chaplain to the Countess | Dowager of Chatham. | [a medal of Antoninus] Stourport, | Printed and Sold by George Nicholson, | Sold also by Sherwood, Neely, & Jones., | and Crosby & Co., London; | Houlstons, Wellington, | and all booksellers. | 1811. | 8°.

Imprint: G. Nicholson, Printer, Stourport.

The whole of sheet 6 is wanting in this edition, being represented by one leaf marked 5*, and the pagination passes from p. 81 of leaf 5* to p. 97 at the beginning of sheet 7. Editor.

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου | *αὐτοκράτορος* | *τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ'.* | *'ὧν προτέθειται τὸ ὑπὸ Θωμᾶ τοῦ ῥήτορος Γαλλιστὶ γεγραμμένον* | *ἐγκώμιον* Μάρκου. | *Φιλοτίμῳ δαπάνῃ τῶν ὁμογενῶν Χίων.* | [a bunch of flowers] *Ἐν Παρισίοις,* | *ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας* Ι. Μ. Ἐβεραρτου. | Se trouve, | chez Théophile Barrois, père, libraire, Rue Hautefeuille, No. 28. | 1816. | 8°.

From *Παρέργων ἑλληνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης* | *τόμος τέταρτος.*

This edition is attributed to Adamantius Koraes, or Diamant Coray, in French.

B.M.; University, Edinburgh; Christiania; Nazionale, Naples; St. Mark's, Venice.

D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum | quos sibi ipsi scripsit | Libri XII. | [a line] ad | Optimorum Librorum fidem | diligenter recogniti. | cum | selecta varietate lectionis | et | adnotationibus criticis. | [a line] Curavit | Io. Matth. Schultz. | Editio stereotypa. | Lipsiae | ex officina Car. Tauchnitii. | 1820. | 12°.

The Greek text only. Stich records another edition in 1821, which I have not seen.

The Darmstadt copy reads: ad | fidem optimorum librorum.

Bodley's; Upsala; Darmstadt; ° Copenhagen.

Di | Marco Aurelio Antonino | Imperatore e Filosofo | Ricordi | Tradotti | dal | Conte Michele Milano | vol. i. | [The emperor in triumph] Napoli | Presso Vincenzo Orsini | MDCCCXX. | 4°.

Di | Marco Aurelio Antonino | Imperatore e Filosofo | Ricordi | Tradotti | dal Conte Michele Milano | vol. ii. [The emperor in triumph] Napoli | Presso Vincenzo Orsini | MDCCCXXII. |

The title pages are engraved.
Greek text with Italian version on opposite page, in two volumes.
B.M.; Lucca; B. nazionale, Naples.

The | Meditations | of the | Emperor | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: | translated | from the Greek original: | with a | Life, Notes, &c., | by the late | Rev. R. Graves, M.A. | A new edition. | Halifax: | published by N. Whitley. | MDCCCXXVI. |

B.M.

D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum | quos sibi ipsi scripsit | Libri XII. | ad | optimorum librorum fidem | diligenter recogniti. | cum | selecta varietate lectionis | et | adnotationibus criticis. | curavit | Io. Matth. Schultz. | Editio Stereotypa. | Lipsiae | sumtibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitii. | 1829. | 8°.

B.M.; Signet Library, Edinburgh; University, Würzburg.

Histoire | philosophique | de Marc-Aurèle, | avec les pensées de ce Prince, presentées dans | un ordre nouveau, et en rapport avec les actes | de sa vie publique et privée; | ornée de deux portraits, | par feu M. Ripault, | ex-membre de l'Institut d' Égypte, ex-bibliothecaire de Napoléon. | Vir quam mirari facilius quis quam laudare possit. | Eutr., liv. viii, p. 188. | Cherchez dans toute la nature, et vous n'y trouverez pas de plus | grands objets que les deux Antonins. Rien n'est capable de

faire | oublier le premier des Antonins, si ce n'est MARC-AURÈLE. | MONTESQ. *Esp. des Lois*, liv. xxiv., ch. 10. | *Grand. et Décad. des Rom.*, ch. 16. | Tome premier. | Livre I.–IV. | Depuis la naissance de Marc-Aurèle jusqu'à la paix avec les Parthes. | Seconde Édition. | Paris. | Barba, Éditeur, Palais-Royal, Grande Cour | 1830. In four volumes. 8°.

Selections from the *Meditations* at the end of the fourth volume.
B.M.

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου | αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβλία ιβ'. | περσιστὶ μεθερμηνεύσαντος | Ἰωσὴφ Ἀμμέρ. | Εν Βιεννῆ τῆς Αὐστρίας, | ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας της χῆρας Ἀντωνίου Στραους. | 1831 | 4°.

The Greek and Persian are on opposite pages. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall is the translator.
B.M.; University, Munich; ° Paris; ° University, Copenhagen.

Ricordi | di | Marco Aurelio Antonino | Imperatore e filosofo | tradotti | dal | conte | Michele Milano | con la vita | del medesimo imperatore | [a bust of the emperor?] Milano | per Giovanni Silvestri | M.DCCC.XXXV. | 12°.

One of the: Biblioteca | Scelta | di Opere | Greche e Latine | tradotte | in lingua italiana | vol. 42 | Marco Aurelio Antonino | ricordi.
Victor Emmanuel, Rome; University, Bologna; Hofbib. Vienna.

Theophrasti | Characteres, | Marci Antonini Commentarii, | Epicteti | Dissertationes ab Arriano literis mandatæ, | Fragmenta et Enchiridion | cum commentario Simplicii, | Cebetis Tabula, | Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes. | Græce et Latine cum Indicibus. | Theophrasti Characteres XV et Maximum Tyrium | ex antiquissimis codicibus accurate excussis emendavit | Fred. Dübner. | [Vignette on wood of the Institute of France surrounded by serpent biting its tail.] Parisiis, | Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, | Instituti Regii Franciæ typographo. | MD CCC XL. 8°.

Imprint: Excudebant Firmin Didot Fratres, via Jacob, 56.

Greek with Latin version in parallel columns.
Cambridge; Upsala; University, Turin; Lucca; Parma.

Moralistes | Anciens, | [a line] Entretiens de Socrate. | Pensées de Marc-Aurele.—Manuel d' Épictète. | Tableau de la vie, par Cébès. | Sentences de Théognis, de Phocylide, de Démophile, | des Sages de la Grèce. | Vers dorés de Pythagore, etc., etc. | traduits du Grec. [Device] Paris. Charpentier, Libraire-Éditeur, | 29, Rue de Seine. | 1840. No imprint.

Munich.

Another issue: As above till after Device, when as follows:

A Paris | chez Lefèvre, éditeur, | Rue de l'Esperon, n. 6. | chez Charpentier, éditeur, | Rue de Seine, 29. | 1841. | 18°.

Imprint: Imprimerie de Schneider et Langrand, | Rue d'Erfurth, n. 1. |

Pensées | de l'Empereur | Marc-Aurèle-Antonin, | traduites du Grec | par de Joly. | occupy pp. 196–396.
Communale, Bologna.

Another issue of Dübner's edition of Theophrastus, etc., *but with the date* MDCCCXLII *and with the imprint:* Parisiis—excudebant Firmin Didot Fratres, Via Jacob, 56. 8°.

Hofbib. Vienna.

Marka Aurelia Antonina | řjmského samowladaře | Zápisky, | Ktere sobě samému snesl. | Dwanáctero Kněh. | [an ornamental line] Z řeckého | přeložil a poznamenánjmi zaopatřil | Františ̌ek Sjr, | c.k. Professor humanit. třjdy na Gymnasium w Giějně. [a medallion of the emperor, taken from the same source as that in Reche's edition of 1797.] W. Gičjně 1842. | Tiskem Františ̌ka Jana Kastránka. | 8°.

Translation into Czech.
University, Vienna; Hofbib. Vienna; University, Prague.

Pensées | de l'empereur | Marc Aurèle Antonin | traduction nouvelle | par Alexis Pierron | avec | une introduction et des notes par le traducteur. | Paris | Charpentier, Libraire-Éditeur | 29, Rue de Seine | 1843. 18°.

Imprint: Paris.—Typ. Lacrampe et comp., Rue Damiette. 2. |

Royal Library, The Hague; Nazionale, Naples.

The Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, | with the | Manual of Epictetus, | and a | Summary of Christian Morality. | Freely Translated from the Original Greek, | by | Henry Mc Cormac, M.D. | [Quotation:] Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἐμαυτὸν λυπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ | ἄλλον πώποτε ἑκωὼν ἐλύπησα. | Marci Antonini, lib. viii. [§42.] | London: | Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans; | Dublin: Wm. Curry, Jun., & Co.; | Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. | 1844. |

Imprint: Henderson and Russell, Printers, Belfast.

B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge.

Pensées | de l'empereur | Marc-Aurèle-Antonin, | traduites du grec | par de Joly | tome I (tome II). [a flower with 8 petals] a Paris, | chez Victor Lecou, libraire, | Rue du Bouloi, No. 10. | 1850 | 16°.

Imprint: Paris.—Impr. Bénard et Comp., rue Damiette, 2.

Bastard title: Nouvelle Collection | des | moralistes anciens | publiée | sous la direction de M. Lefèvre.

Paris; Munich.

Ricordi | dell' imperatore | Marc' Aurelio Antonino. | Volgarizzamento con note | tratto in gran parte dalle scritture | di | Luigi Ornato, | terminato e pubblicato per opera | di | Girolamo Picchioni | Torino | dalla Stamperia Reale | 1853. |

Munich.

Mark Aurel's | Meditationen. | [a wavy line] Aus dem Griechischen | von F. C. Schneider. | "Nun gilt es nicht mehr zu unter- | suchen, was ein tüchtiger Mensch sei: | sondern einer zu sein." X. 13 [16] | Breslau. | Verlag von Eduard Trewendt. | 1857. | 8°.

B.M.

Μαρκου Αντωνινου | παλαι μεν | αυτοκρατορος ρωμαιου | Δυναστευοντος δετι νυν, και εισαει | σεβαστου | Επικλησει Τιμιωτερᾳ | Αυτοκρατορος στωικου, | τα εις ἑαυτον. | Sive | ad seipsum commentarii morales. | recensuit, denuo ordinavit, expurgavit, | restituit, notis illustravit, | ac ne auctor

Ηθοσοφιας ασκητικης, ανταρκους, | iste præstantissimus, idem mendosissimus, | prout hactenus prodiret, summo | studio procuravit | C. L. Porcher. | N. Eboraci, U. S., A. D., 1861. | A liberatæ Reip, 1. | John F. Trow, Printer, 50 Greene Street. | 8°.

Throughout the book accents seem limited to the rough breathings and circumflex accents. Author's name is Capell Lofft, Jun. pseudonym is Porcher, Stoic, King's man.

B.M.; St. John's.

The Thoughts of | the Emperor M. Aurelius | Antoninus. | [Leaf] Translated by George Long. [Device] London: | Bell and Daldy, Fleet Street. | 1862. | 8°.

Imprint: Chiswick Press:—Printed by Whittingham and Wilkins, | Tooks Court, Chancery Lane. |

B.M.

Μαρκου Αντωνινου | παλαι μεν αὐτοκρατορος Ῥωμαιου | Δυναστευοντος δ'ετι νυν, και εισαει | Σεβαστου | Επικλησει τιμιωτερᾳ | αὐτοκρατορος στωικου, | τα εις ἑαυτον. |

Sive | ad seipsum commentarii morales. | recensuit, denuo ordinavit, expurgavit, | restituit, notis illustravit, | ac ne auctor Ηθοσοφιας ασκητικης, ανταρκους, iste | præstantissimus, idem mendosissimus, prout hactenus | prodiret, summo studio procuravit | C. L. Porcher. |

Accedunt | lectiones novi testamenti emendandæ. | Τις εστιν αξιος ανοιξαι το βιβλιον, και λυσαι τας σφραγιδας αυτου; Και ουδεις ηδυνατο. Rev. 5. 2. 3. |

N. Eboraci, U. S., 1863 | A. liberatæ Reip. 1. | 8°.

Imprint: Londini: | typis Gilbert et Rivington, | St John's Square. |

A. liberatae Reip.

Mere reprint of edition of 1861. Only rough breathings in this edition, no circumflex accents.

B.M.

Mark Aurel's | Meditationen. | Aus dem Griechischen | von F. C. Schneider. | "Nun gilt es nicht mehr zu unter- | suchen, was ein tüchtiger Mensch sei; | sondern einer zu sein." X, 13. | Zweite verbesserte Auflage. | Breslau. | Verlag von Eduard Trewendt. | 1865. | 8°.

Imprint: Druck von Robert Nischkowsky in Breslau. |

Munich; Upsala.

D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum | quos sibi ipsi scripsit | Libri xii. | [a line] ad | optimorum Librorum fidem | diligenter recogniti. | Cum selecta varietate lectionis et | adnotationibus criticis. | curavit | Io. Matth. Schultz. | [a line] Editio stereotypa. | [an ornamental line] Lipsiae | sumtibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitii. | 1865. |

Imprint: Impressit F. L. Metzger, Lipsiae.

London Library.

Mark Aurel's | Selbstgespräche. | [a line] Uebersetzt und erläutert | von | Dr. C. Cless, | Oberstudienrath, R. d. O. d. W. Krone. | [a wavy line] Stuttgart. | Krais & Hoffmann. | 1866. | 8°.

Imprint: Druck von C. Hoffmann in Stuttgart.

Editor.

Pensées | de | Marc-Aurèle | traduction d'Alexis Pierron | couronnée par l' académie française | précédée | d'une introduction, accompagnée d'un commentaire | et suivie des Lettres à Fronton [a line], Deuxième édition | revue et corrigée | [a line] Paris | Charpentier, Libraire-Éditeur | 28, Quai de l'École | 1867. |

Imprint: Corbeil.—Typ. et stér. de Crété.

London Library.

Ricordi | dell' Imperatore | Marc' Aurelio Antonino. | volgarizzamento con note | tratto in parte dalle scritture | di | Luigi Ornato, | compiuto e messo in luce | da | Girolamo Picchioni. | [a rose with a bee] Firenze, | G. Barbèra, editore | 1867. | 8°.

Second [?] edition.

University, Genoa; Nazionale, Palermo; Victor Emmanuel, Rome.

The Thoughts | of the | Emperor M. Aurelius | Antoninus. | Translated by George Long. | Second Edition. | Revised and Corrected. | London: | Bell and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden. | 1869. | 8°.

Imprint: London: printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street | and Charing Cross.

B.M.; Bodley's.

D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum | quos sibi ipsi scripsit | libri XII. | Ad optimorum librorum fidem | diligenter recogniti. | Cum selecta varietate lectionis et | adnotationibus criticis. | curavit | Io. Matth. Schultz. | Editio Stereotypa | Lipsiae | sumptibus Ottonis Holtze. | 1870. |

Preface dated at Leipzig 1820 June 24. Greek text, no version. Identical with that of 1829.

B.M.; °University, Aberdeen; °Free Public Library, Wigan.

Nouvelle Collection classique d'ouvrages philosophiques | Manuel | d'Épictète | traduction nouvelle | suivie d'extraits | des entretiens d'Épictète et des pensées de Marc-Aurèle | avec une | étude sur la philosophie d'Épictète | par | M. Guyau | professeur de philosophie | [Device] Paris | Librairie Ch. Delagrave | 58, Rue des Écoles, 58. | 1875 | 18°.

Imprint: Abbeville.—Imprimerie Briez, C. Paillart et Retaux.

The extracts from Antoninus follow translation of Pierron, and are from p. 187 to p. 203. Paris.

° The Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus translated by George Long. Bell & Sons.

Revised edition 1873. Reprinted 1875 (March and Sept.), 1877, 1879, 1880, 1881 (March and Dec.), 1883, 1884, 1886 (March and Dec.), 1887, 1888, 1890, 1898, 1901.

Mark Aurel's | Meditationen. | [a wavy line] Aus dem Griechischen | von | F. C. Schneider. | "Nun gilt es nicht mehr zu unter- | suchen, was ein

tüchtiger Mensch sei, | sonder einer zu sein." X, 13 | Dritte verbesserte Auflage. | [a line] Breslau, | Verlag von Eduard Trewendt. | 1875. | 8°.

Imprint: Leipzig, Walter Wigand's Buchdruckerei. |

B.M.

Selections | from | The Thoughts | of | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, | Emperor of Rome. | Boston. | Roberts Brothers. | 1876. | 8°.

Imprint: Copyright, 1876, | By Roberts Brothers. | Cambridge: | Press of John Wilson & Son. |

Introduction is followed by initials M.W.T.
B.M.

Pensées | de | Marc-Aurèle | traduction nouvelle | par | J. Barthélemy-St Hilaire | Paris | Librairie Germer-Baillière et Cie | 17, Rue de l'École-de-Médecine, 17 | 1876 | 12°.

Imprint: Paris.—Typ. G. Chamerot, R. des Saints-Pères, 19.

B.M.; Cambridge.

Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | Emperor of the Romans | translated by George Long | new and complete edition | Boston | Lee and Shepard | New York | Charles T. Dillingham | 8°.

Imprint: Cambridge: | Presswork by John Wilson & Son. |

Stamp of B.M. bears date 11 Sep. 1877.
This edition is also dedicated by the publishers to Ralph Waldo Emerson: on which note George Long's remarks in his edition of 1869. (See above, p. 21.)
B.M.

Another edition of Dübner's *Theophrastus*, etc., was published according to Stich in 1877.

Pensées | de | Marc-Aurèle | traduction d'Alexis Pierron | couronnée par l'académie française | précédée | d'une introduction, accompagnée d'un commentaire | et suivie des Lettres à Fronton | troisième édition | revue et corrigée | Paris | G. Charpentier, éditeur | 13, Rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain, 13 | 1878 |

Imprint: 3118–77—Corbeil, typ. et stér. de Crété.

Paris.

° Marc Aurels Meditationen in ihrer Einheit und Bedeutung. Arn. Braune. Altenburg, 1878.

From Ioannes Stich, *D. Imperatoris Marci Antonini Commentariorum quos sibi ipsi scripsit Libri xii.* Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1903, p. vi.

Des Kaisers | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | Selbstbetrachtungen. | [an ornamental line] Neue Uebersetzung mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen | von | Dr. Albert Wittstock. | [a line] Leipzig. | Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun. | 12°.

Introduction is dated "Pfingsten, 1879."
Stadtbib. Mainz; University, Vienna.

° Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, *Thoughts*, 16°. Osgood: same tr. by G. Long. 12°. (Bohn) $1.25. Little, B. & Co. Same, 12°. (Bohn) $1.40. Scribner, W. & A. Same, 12°. (Bohn) $1.50. Lippincott.

From *American Catalogue under the direction of F. Leyhold't*, New York, Armstrong, 1880.

The fourth book | of the Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | a Revised Text | with translation and commentary | and an | Appendix on the relations of the emperor with | Cornelius Fronto | by | Hastings Crossley, M.A. | Hon. D. Lit. (Queen's University) | sometime scholar of Trinity College, Dublin; Professor of Greek in | Queen's College, Belfast. | London | Macmillan and Co. | 1882 | 8°.

B.M.; Bodley's.

Μάρκου | Ἀντωνίνου | αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβλία ιβ'. | D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum | quos sibi ipsi scripsit | Libri XII. | Recensuit | Ioannes Stich. | [Device] Lipsiae | in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, | M D CCC L XXXII. |

Imprint: Lipsiae: typis B. G. Teubneri. 8°.

Bodley's; Cambridge.

° Размышленія Императора Марка Аврелія Антонина о томъ, что важно для самого себя. Переводъ Князя Л. Урусова. Тула, 1882, 8°. ix + 180 стр.

Pensées | de | Marc-Aurèle | traduction d'Alexis Pierron | couronnée | par l'Académie française | précedée | d'une introduction, accompagnée d'un commentaire | et suivie des Lettres à Fronton | cinquième édition | revue et corrigée | Paris | G. Charpentier et Cie, Éditeurs | 13. Rue de Grenelle, 13 | 1886 | 18°.

Imprint: Châteauroux.—Typ. Stéréotyp. A. Majesté.

Ste. Genévième, Paris.

The | Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius | Translated from the Greek | By Jeremy Collier | Revised, with an Introduction and Notes | By Alice Zimmern. | [a line] London | Walter Scott, 24 Warwick Lane | Paternoster Row | 1887 | 8°.

From the Camelot Series, edited by Ernest Rhys.
B.M. ; Bodley's.

°Размышленія Императора Марка Аврелія о томъ, что важно для самого себя. М. 1888. 18°.

The | Apology of Tertullian | Translated and Annotated by | Wm Reeve, A.M. | sometime Vicar of Cranford, Middlesex | and the | Meditations of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | Translated by | Jeremy Collier, A.M. [Device] Griffith Farren Okeden & Welsh | Newbery House | London & Sydney | 8°.

Imprint: Morrison and Gibb, printers, Edinburgh. | 3. M–V–10/89. | [1889]

Edited by W. B. *i.e.* William Benham.
Bodley's ; Cambridge.

°Размышленія римскаго императора Марка Аврелія о томъ, что важно для самого себя. М. 1895. 16°. 180 стр. Типогр. Вильда.

The Thoughts of | the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | reprinted from the revised | translation of George Long [Device] London : | George Bell and Sons, York Street, | Covent Garden. | 1890. | 8°.

Imprint: Chiswick Press:—C. Whittingham and Co., | Tooks Court, Chancery Lane. |

Reprinted 1891, 1897. Sm. 4°. 1898. Demy 8°. 1900.
India paper edition, June, 1901. Reprinted Sept. 1901.
B.M.; Bodley's.

Obraz zycid, myśli, i cnot czynnych Marka Aureliusza. Pismo [by A. L. Thomas] tłomaczone z Froncuzkiego [by S. Staszio]. pp. 98.

P. Dufour: w Warszawie, 1890. 8°.

Sketch of the life, thoughts, and the virtues of Marcus Aurelius. A translation into Polish, by S. Staszio, of the Éloge "de Marc Aurèle," by A. L. Thomas. One of the books selected for the education of the Corps of Cadets by King Stanislaus II.
B.M.

Sir John Lubbock's hundred Books | 3 | The meditations of | Marcus Aurelius | Translated from the Greek | by Jeremy Collier | revised, with an introduction and notes, | By Alice Zimmern | London | George Routledge and Sons, Limited | Broadway, Ludgate Hill | Glasgow, Manchester, and New York | 1891. | 8°.

Imprint: the Walter Scott Press, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

B.M.; Bodley's; ° University, Glasgow.

°Маркъ Аврелій Антонинъ. Къ самому себѣ. Размышленія. Перев. съ греч. Ил. Краснова. СПБ. 1895 г. 16°. 172 стр. Дешевая Библ-ка Суворина № 183.

Markus Aurelius Antoninus' | Betragtninger. | paa Dansk | ved | L. C. Hansteen. | [Device] København. | em. Langhoffs Forlag. | 1897. | 8°.

Imprint: København—Græbes Bogtrykkeri |

University, Copenhagen.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | to Himself: an English | Translation with Intro-|ductory Study on Stoicism | and the Last of the Stoics | by | Gerald H. Rendall, M.A., Litt.D. | late Fellow of Trinity College,

Cambridge | Principal and Professor of Greek | University College, Liverpool | London | Macmillan and Co., Limited | New York: the Macmillan Company | 1898 | All rights reserved | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh.

B.M.; Bodley's.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | to Himself: an English | Translation with Intro-|ductory Study on Stoicism | and the last of the Stoics | by | Gerald H. Rendall, M.A. Litt.D. | late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge | Headmaster of Charterhouse | Second edition | London | Macmillan and Co., Limited | New York: the Macmillan company | 1898 | all rights reserved | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh.

Is this merely the preceding edition with a new title page?
Christiania.

The | golden | book | of | Marcus | Aurelius | MDCCCXCVIII. published by J. M. Dent | and Co: Aldine House London E.C. |

Temple Classics. A reprint of the second edition of Meric Casaubon's translation.
B.M.; Bodley's.

Biblioteca Universale | [a line] Il libro dei Ricordi | di | Marco Aurelio Antonino | imperatore | con prefazione e note di Angelo Crespi | [Device.] Milano | Società editrice Sonzogno | 14–Via Pasquirolo–14 | 1898. | 8°.

No. 253 of the *Biblioteca Universale*, one volume of which appeared every month, price 25 centimes.
Victor Emmanuel, Rome; Brera, Milan.

Some | Meditations | of | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | Meric Casaubon, D.D. | and modernised [Device] London | Gay and Bird | 1899 | 8°.

The bastard title reads: The | Bibelots | edited by | J. Potter Briscoe, | F.R.H.S.
B.M.; Bodley's.

Selections from | the meditations of | Marcus Aurelius | translated from the | original Greek, with | an introduction, by | Benjamin E. Smith | [reproduction of a coin] | New York | The Century Co. | 1899 | 8°.

On verso: Copyright, 1899, by | The Century Co. | The De Vinne Press. |

Underneath the coin some copies have, added by hand: London, | T. Fisher Unwin. | B.M.

Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the Roman Emperour, | His meditations | concerning Himselfe: | treating of a naturall | Mans happinesse; Wherein it consisteth, and of | the meanes to attaine unto it. | [a line] Translated out of the | Originall Greeke; with Notes: | by | Meric Casaubon, B. of D. and Prebendarie | of Christ Church, Canterbury. | [a line] And now Edited, with an Introduction, Appendix, | and Glossary, by W. H. D. Rouse. | [a line] Ecclus. 18. 8. | What is man, and whereto serveth he? | What is his good, and what is his evill? | [a line] London: J. M. Dent & Co. | New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. | MDCCCC. | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co. | At the Ballantyne Press. |

B.M.; Bodley's; Cambridge.

The golden | book of | Marcus | Aurelius | translated | out of the Greek | by Meric | Casaubon | London: published | by J. M. Dent & Co. | and in New York | by E. P. Dutton & Co. | 8°.

The bastard title reads: Every man's Library | edited by Ernest Rhys | Classical | The meditations of | Marcus Aurelius | with an introduction | by W. H. D. Rouse | Bodley's.

The XII books of | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | the Emperor | translated by | George Long | [ornament] London | George Bell and Sons | MDCCCC | 8°.

Imprint: Chiswick Press: Charles Whittingham and Co. | Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London. |

B.M.; Bodley's.

Marcus | Aurelius Antoninus | To Himself | in English | by | Gerald H. Rendall, M.A., Litt.D. | Head Master of Charterhouse | London | Macmillan and Co., Limited | New York: the Macmillan Company | 1901 | All rights reserved | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh.

From the Golden Treasury series.
B.M.; Bodley's.

G. Michaut | ancien élève de l'école normale supérieure | professeur a l'université de Fribourg (Suisse) | Marc-Aurèle | Pensées | traduction nouvelle | Paris | ancienne librairie Thorin et fils | Albert Fontemoing, éditeur | Libraire des écoles françaises, d'Athènes et de Rome | du collège de France et de l'école normale supérieure | 4, Rue le Goff, 4 | 1901. | 8°.

Imprint: Tours, imprimerie Deslis frères, 6, Rue Gambetta.

A frontispiece reproduces the bust in the Vatican.
On the back of the outer cover is: ♆ | Imprimerie A. Gautherin | 131. rue de Vaugirard, 131. | Paris. |
Mazarine, Paris; Victor Emmanuel, Rome.

The thoughts of the | Emperor Marcus | Aurelius Antoninus | translated by | George Long [Device] London | George Bell and Sons | MDCCCCII | 4°.

Imprint: Chiswick Press: Charles Whittingham and Co. | Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London. |

B.M.; Bodley's.

The thoughts of the | Emperor Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | George Long [Device] London: George Bell and Sons | York Street, Covent Garden | 1902 | 8°.

Imprint: Chiswick Press: Charles Whittingham and Co. | Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London. |

One of the "Life and Light Books." On verso of bastard title is given a list of the different reprints in England of George Long's version.
B.M.

The Meditations of the | Emperor Marcus | Aurelius Antoninus | a new rendering based on the | Foulis translation of 1742 | By George W. Chrystal | Warner exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford | Edinburgh | Otto Schulze & Company | 20 South Frederick Street | London: S. C. Brown & Company | 47 Great Russell Street, W.C. | 1902. | 4° (in eights).

Imprint: Printed by W. H. White & Son, The Abbey Press, Edinburgh.

B.M.; Bodley's.

G. Michaut | ancien élève de l'école normale supérieure | professeur a l'université de Fribourg (Suisse) | Marc. Aurèle | Pensées | traduction nouvelle | deuxième édition, revue et corrigée | Paris | ancienne librairie Thorin et fils | Albert Fontemoing, éditeur | libraire des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome | du collège de France et de l'école normale supérieure | 4, Rue le Goff, 4 | 1902 | 8°.

Imprint: Tours, imprimerie Deslis frères, 6 Rue Gambetta.

Paris.

Griechisches Lesebuch | von | Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. | I. Text | Zweiter Halbband. | [a line] Berlin | Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung | 1902. 8°.

Imprint: Druck von W. Parmetter in Berlin.

From p. 311 to p. 320 are selections from the *Meditations*.
B.M.

An | Old Monarch | in | New Mantle. | [ornamental line] "The hungry dog presages in his dream | A mighty spoil of crusts." | Theocritus. | [ornamental line] London: | James E. Wilson, | 21, Cornhill, E.C. | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by | Wilson's Music and General Printing Company, Ltd., 67*b*, Turnmill St., London, E.C. |

No date; but the stamp of the British Museum bears date 13th Nov. 1902.
B.M.; Bodley's.

Thoughts from the | Meditations of | Marcus Aurelius. | "A free man thinks of death least | of all things, and his wisdom | is a meditation not of death | but of life."—Spinoza | Sydney C. Mayle 70 High Street Hamp-|stead N.W.; Simpkin Marshall & Co., Ltd. | London E.C. 1903 |

Imprint: Printed at The Priory Press, 20, St John Square, E.C.

On verso of title: These selections have been made from Dr. | Rendall's translation of Marcus Aurelius, with | the permission of the publishers, Messrs. Mac | millan & Co., Ltd. |

Bodley's.

The thoughts of | the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | George Long | [Device] London | George Bell & Sons | 1903 | 16°.

Imprint: Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, | by Horace Hart; from Plates made at the | Chiswick Press, London, by Whittingham & Co. |

B.M.; Bodley's.

Marc Aurel | Selbstbetractungen | [Device] | Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs | in Leipzig 1903. | 8°.

On verso: Neu verdeutscht und | eingeleitet von Dr. Otto | Kiefer. Mit Buchschmuck | von Peter Behrens |

Imprint: Gedruckt in der Offizin | W. Drugulin in Leipzig |

B.M.; Munich.

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου | αὐτοκράτορος | τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν | βιβλία ιβ'.

D. Imperatoris | Marci Antonini | Commentariorum quos sibi ipsi scripsit | Libri XII. | iterum recensuit | Ioannes Stich | [Device] Lipsiae, | in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. | MCMIII. | 8°.

Imprint: Lipsiae: typis B. G. Teubneri.

Bodley's; Cambridge.

The Meditations of Marcus | Aurelius. Translated from | the Greek by Jeremy Collier. | Revised, with Introduction | and Notes, by Alice Zimmern. | The Walter Scott publishing Co., Ltd. | London and Felling-on-Tyne. | New York: 3 East 14th Street. | 8°.

Imprint: The Walter Scott publishing Co., Limited, Felling-on-Tyne.

Bodley's.

Pensées | de | Marc-Aurèle | traduction | d' Auguste Couat | Recteur de l'académie de Bordeaux | éditée par | Paul Fournier | maitre de conférences a la faculté des lettres de l'université de Bordeaux [Device] Bordeaux: | Feret et fils, éditeurs, 15, Cours de l'intendance | Lyon: Henri Georg, 36–42, Passage del Hôtel-Dieu | Marseille: Paul Ruat, 54, Rue Paradis Montpellier: C. Coulet, 5, Grand' Rue | Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 14, Rue des Arts | Paris: | A. Fontemoing, Libraire des Écoles françaises d' Athènes et de Rome | Rue Le Goff | 1904 | 8°.

Imprint: Bordeaux.—Imprimerie G. Gounouilhou, rue Guiraude, 9–11. |

B.M.; Mazarine, Paris; Munich.

The Meditations | of the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | R. Graves, M.A. | Methuen & Co. | 36 Essex Street, W.C. | London | 8°.

On verso of title is: Published in Methuen's Standard Library | in 1905.

Imprint: The Aberdeen University Press Limited

B.M.; Bodley's.

The thoughts of | the Emperor | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | George Long, M.A. | with an essay by | Matthew Arnold | London | George Bell & Sons | 1905 | 8°.

Imprint: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles.

From "The York Library."

B.M.; Bodley's.

The Rosemary Series. | [leaf] | Gleanings | from . . | Marcus Aurelius. | [Device] | Selected by H. S. | [Leaf.] | London : | Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. | 12mo.

Imprint: Macaire, Mould & Co., | Printers | 5, Victoria Avenue, Bishopsgate, E.C.

No date, but stamped at British Museum, 23 Nov. 1905.
B.M. ; Bodley's.

The | Life | according | to | nature | From The | Meditations | Of | Marcus Aurelius | With Introductory Note | By | F. E. Worland. | London | C. W. Daniel | 3 Amen Corner, | Paternoster Row, E.C. | The | People's | Classics | No. 1. | [? 1905] 16°.

Bodley's.

The Meditations of | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | John Jackson | with an introduction by | Charles Bigg | Oxford | at the Clarendon Press | 1906 | 8°.

Imprint: Henry Frowde, M.A. | Publisher to the University of Oxford | London, Edinburgh | New York and Toronto.

B.M. ; Bodley's.

The Thoughts of | Marcus Aurelius | Antoninus | translated by | John Jackson | [mark of the World's Classics] Henry Frowde | Oxford University Press | London, New York and Toronto | 8°.

Imprint: Oxford : Horace Hart | Printer to the University. |

B.M. ; Bodley's.

Words of | the ancient wise | from Epictetus and | Marcus Aurelius | by | W. H. D. Rouse | M.A., Litt.D. | Methuen & Co. | 36 Essex Street W.C. | London [1906.] 8°.

Imprint: The Riverside Press Limited, Edinburgh.

B.M. ; Bodley's.

The Golden | Book of | Marcus | Aurelius | translated | out of the Greek | by Meric | Casaubon | [a mark] London: Published by J. M. Dent & Co | and in New York | by E. P. Dutton & Co. | 8°.

Bastard Title: Everyman's Library | edited by Ernest Rhys | Classical | The meditations of | Marcus Aurelius | with an introduction | by W. H. D. Rouse | 8°.

No date; but stamped in the British Museum 16 Mr. 1906.

B.M.; Bodley's.

The thoughts of the | Emperor Marcus | Aurelius Antoninus | translated by | George Long | with a Life of the Emperor, and | an Essay on his Philosophy | by the Translator | And the Essay on Marcus Aurelius by | Matthew Arnold | [Device] London | George Routledge & Sons Ltd | New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. | 8°.

Imprint: Butler and Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

From "The New Universal Library." No date; but stamped in the British Museum 15 Nov. 1906.

B.M.; Bodley's.

The | Golden Book | of | Marcus Aurelius | by | John F. Crump | Author of 'Greetings in the Market,' 'The Witchery of Books,' | 'Light and Leading,' 'The Treasures of *The Imitation*.' | The Walsall Press | Walsall: W. H. Robinson, Printer and Publisher | London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Limited. | 1907.

Imprint: Printed by | W. Henry Robinson | The Walsall Press.

Second title. Selections | from | The Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius | Grouped in subjects and arranged in alphabetical order, | together with Introductory Essay, Appendix of Maxims, | and a copious Index.

Bodley's.

Leaves | of | Comfort | from Marcus Aurelius Antoninus | [a branch with leaves] T. N. Foulis | 23 Bedford Street, London, W.C. | and at 3 Frederick St., Edinburgh |

A short selection from the Meditations *from* Leaves of Life Series | Number two. No date; but stamped in the British Museum 28 Se. 07.

B.M.

M. Antoninus Imperator | ad se ipsum | recognovit | brevique adnotatione critica instruxit | I. H. Leopold | Oxonii | e typographeo Clarendoniano | [1908.] 8°.

Imprint: Oxonii | Excudebat Horatius Hart | Typographus academicus |

Bodley's.

Myšlenky | císaře Marka Aurelia. | Přeložil, úvod a poznámky napsal | Em. Peroutka. | [a device] V. Praze. | Nákladem Jana Laichtera na Král. Vinohradech. | 1908. |

From Otázky anázory. Vinohrady 1901. Sv. xxiv. 8°.

Imprint: Veškerá práva vyhrazena | Tiskl Albert Malíř na Král. Vinohradech. |

City Library, Prague; °University, Prague.

The Thoughts | of Marcus | Aurelius | Translated by George Long | With his Life, and an Essay on his | Philosophy by the Translator | Also the Essay on Marcus Aurelius by | Matthew Arnold | Together with Cicero's | Essay on Friendship | Translated by W. Melmoth | Cassell and Company, Ltd. | London, Paris, New York, | Toronto & Melbourne | MCMVIII. | 12°.

From the People's Library.

Bodley's.

THE GIOLITI AND THEIR PRESS AT VENICE.

By A. J. BUTLER.

Read 18th January, 1909.

ON the railway from Turin to Casale, near to the latter city, is the station of Trino. Trino is a town on the left bank of the Po, of about 12,000 inhabitants, which, at the time when our story opens, still formed part of the once famous little state, the Marquisate of Montferrat, merged about 1536 in the Duchy of Mantua. Like so many of the smaller Italian towns, like Subiaco, Jesi, Foligno, Trino opened its arms betimes to the new art of printing, but with a difference all to its credit, for whereas in the towns I have named, and elsewhere, the work was mainly left to German enterprise, the Trinesi turned their own hands to it with alacrity. Unfortunately, the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first of the sixteenth century was not a period of repose and security for the regions lying between Turin and Milan, and many of the Trinese printers went off in search of safer quarters. We hear of at least one at Lyons, a town which presently, under the auspices of such men as Tournes and Rouille, began to be a great centre for the diffusion of Italian books. But Venice, already the headquarters of the typographic art in Italy, was the obvious place, and thither flocked the printers of the north-western provinces. From Monza and Cremona, from Vercelli and Alessandria they came, but no town furnished so large a contingent as little Trino.

The first to migrate seems to have been Bernardino Gioliti, called Stagnino. The Gioliti were a numerous clan. Indeed, we learn that not far from Trino, across the Po, there is a valley, "stretta e fresca" says Signor Bongi, where all the inhabitants still answer to that name, and which is known as Vale de' Gioliti. The present Italian Premier is doubtless of the same stock. Bernardino's father was presumably a tinman. He was soon followed by Giovanni di Piano Cerreto, commonly known as Il Taccuino, "the pocket-almanack." Perhaps he began as a kind of Letts before he took to higher things like editions of the classics. He printed at Venice from 1492 to 1539.

Another Trino printer, who, however, seems to have stayed at home, was Gerardo Zei, who practised for eleven years only, and produced twenty-one books, most or all at the cost of other people. Then came Giovanni Giolito, kinsman as it would seem of Stagnino, bringing with him his son Gabriele, then a young boy, of whom more is to be said. The list of Trinesi at Venice is continued by the well-known Comino da Trino, Francesco Portonari, who in 1560 published a translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Marco Aurelio*, and Lorenzo and Nicolao Pezzano, who towards the end of the century bought up the business of the bankrupt Giuntas. Comino's firm seems to have migrated to Padua, where it produced as late as 1729 the first important edition of the *Divina Commedia* which had appeared since the Cruscan of 1595, on which indeed it was based. The *Cominiana*, edited by G. A. Volpi, is a credit to eighteenth century typography, and was for long the standard edition; even now it cannot be neglected by students of Dante. Among other apparatus it contains a careful bibliography of former editions. But I am not now discussing the bibliography of Dante.

This seems the most fitting point to say that for all which concerns the history of the Gioliti and their publications I have (save for a few observations made from the thirty or so of Gabriel's books in my own library) drawn upon the exhaustive work of Signor Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome 1890-9). The book forms one of a series

of "Indici e Cataloghi" published by the Minister of Public Instruction, as appendices to his official report. It is in two volumes of 520 and 540 pages, with an Introduction of 114, and may be purchased for the moderate sum of 14 *lire*. And here may I be permitted to make a short digression, which will not, after all, be wholly irrelevant before a society like ours, whose bond of union is a respect for the book, *an und für sich*, as one of the finest products of human skill. How is it that a poor and over-taxed country like Italy can afford to turn out in a neat and satisfactory form books like this, and others of the same series—an Inventory of the Italian MSS. in the libraries of France, a Catalogue of the books printed by Blado at Rome—while wealthy England either leaves such things to private enterprise, or else, when it does, through its responsible officials, undertake their production, suffers them to be turned out by illiterate jobbing printers on the cheapest and nastiest of paper, shabbily covered, an offence to the sight, to the touch, to every sense by which we judge of a book. The old "Rolls Series," now discontinued, did make some attempt at dignity of form; but the "Calendars" of State Papers, and the volumes produced by the Historical MSS. Commission, are such as no self-respecting publisher would allow to go out from his warehouse.

It should be added that an excellent summary of Signor Bongi's Introduction will be found in the second volume of Mr. Horatio Brown's *Studies in Venetian History*, under the title of "A Venetian Printer-publisher of the Sixteenth Century." Had I known of this essay at the time when I received the Secretary's injunction to read a paper, I should have chosen another subject, rather than seem to compete with so charming a writer as Mr. Brown. However, as he has dealt with Giolito's career mainly from the personal and social side, while I am more concerned with his books, we need not clash too much.

As has been said, the various branches of the Giolito clan, being numerous, had surnames to distinguish them. One such branch bore that of de Ferrariis, or de' Ferrari. Apostolo Zeno says there were Ferrari at Piacenza and recounts a legend that a branch went to Milan, whence one

family passed on to France, where their personal beauty earned for them the title of Joli, on their return Italianized into Giolito. This tale seems to rest on the authority of a monk of Monte Cassino, and to have been invented for the benefit of a Ferrari, abbot of San Sisto at Piacenza. The name has not and could not have, as Dibdin supposes, anything to do with Ferrara. It probably points to a time when the family were workers in iron. Bernardino, the Tinman, himself seems to have been a member of the same branch (this name, it may be noted again, still exists; a Signor Maggiorino Ferraris was lately and, for aught I know, may still be a member of the Italian Parliament). From the Gioliti de' Ferrari sprang Giovanni, born probably about 1470. At what date he took to printing is not known; but the earliest book, in which his name appears, seems to be a law book, "Baldi Novelli *Opusculum de Dote*," printed at Trino in August, 1508, *impensis domini Ioannis de Ferrariis de Iolitis ac domini Giraldi de Zeijs*. Other books, chiefly legal, were printed for Giovanni at Lyons, by Gilbert de Villiers; and for him in partnership with Vincenzo Portonari, by Jean Cleyn. Signor Bongi seems to assume that he printed as early as this on his own account, but all the titles quoted show him rather as the man who found the money, and put the work out where he thought best; the publisher in fact. The association with Zei lasted till 1519; and I am inclined to suppose that it would be about then that Giovanni took to printing his own books. He did not in any case carry on business much longer in his own town. The last book that came from his press at Trino, so Signor Bongi tells us, on the authority of Panzer, was the sixth volume of the *Consigli* of Tartagni, the great fifteenth century lawyer of Imola. As to this there can be no mistake. It is *in Oppido Tridini per dominum Iohannem de Ferrariis alias de Iolitis*. Soon after this—it is not exactly known when—the disturbed condition of Montferrat determined him to sell his stock and follow his kinsman Stagnino to Venice. Whether the two Trinesi had at first any business connection, or indeed what Giovanni did with himself in his new place of abode, seems also to be now undiscoverable; but in 1534 we learn that he went back to

his own part of Italy, and opened the University Press at Turin, with a new fount of roman type from Venice, in place of the Gothic which he had used for his former publications. At this time his mark was the Three Kings, with the motto, "Stella duce reversi sunt ad propria."

But Giovanni had no intention of deserting Venice. He had left his son Gabriel, a lad of sixteen years or so, to represent him and look after his business; in 1535 he was back at Venice for good. For the first year or two he seems to have continued to employ the services of other people to do his printing. His first book, an Ariosto in 4to, dated January 20, 1536, was printed by Cravoto and Robi, at Turin, *ad instanzia del Nobile Messer Joanne Giolito, alias de Ferrariis;* and from the fact that it is stated on the title to be sold by certain booksellers at Trino and Turin, it is clear that Giovanni was still in touch with his old place of business. The volume is otherwise interesting as marking the connexion between the Gioliti, and the famous poet and critic Ludovico Dolce. Among other good things promised on the title is "An Apology by M. Ludovico Dolcio against the author's detractors." Ariosto had been barely three years dead; but the Academic critics had got their knives into him before that. In the same year, 1536, Stagnino printed the second edition of his Divina Commedia with the Commentary of Landino *ad instantia di M. Giovanni Giolito da Trino.* The text of this does not seem to differ from that of Stagnino's first edition of 1512—wherever I have tested them it follows this page for page; except that some marginal notes have been added in the later edition, the headlines have been re-arranged, and the initial capitals, which in the earlier edition were decorated, are in the latter plain small roman. Also, the signatures which in the earlier edition were lower-case italic, in the later are roman capitals. The question arises did Stagnino keep his type standing all those 24 years? and did the Gioliti make these alterations for their new edition? One other point about this later edition is worth noticing, it contains besides the matter of its predecessor, a preliminary gathering of twelve leaves, signature a ✱, on which are the main title (where alone Giolito's share of the work is indicated) and a *tavola* or index. Then

follows a second and very handsome title in large characters without name or date—no uncommon feature of course, of books even as late as this. It might quite well be the only title. Of course one ought to look at the register, but suppose, as in the case of a copy in my possession, purchased in early days, that some unscrupulous dealer has falsified the register by erasure?

Later again in this year 1536, Giovanni produced another edition of the *Furioso*, printed this time by Augustino Bindoni; a small 8vo in Gothic type. Only one copy of this appears to be known—in the Melziana library at Milan. Indeed most of Giovanni's books appear to have become very scarce. In 1538 he is employing another printer, one Bartolommeo Zanetti of Brescia, called Casterzagense. The first Boccaccio produced by the firm dates from this year; other books were Brucioli's translation of Cicero *de Oratore* and, more important, a Petrarch with the commentary of Vellutello, which long remained a prominent item in the catalogues of the house. Stagnino had in 1513 published a very beautiful Petrarch, with the commentaries of Filelfo and Illicirio, similar in form to his Dante of the previous year, with wood-cuts by the artist known as the Master of the Column, and others, still retaining much of the fifteenth century style, at any rate differing entirely both in style and design from those in Giolito's editions, and others after 1540. In the case of Giolito's first Petrarch, the editors seem to have joined the publisher in defraying the cost; if I am correct in so interpreting the *ad instantia di Messer Alessandro Velutello e di Messer Giovanni Giolito da Trino.* (I have never been able to make out the difference, if any there be, between *impensis* and *ad instantia.* Did the former imply what we now call a commission book; and was the latter used in cases where the printer took the risk, and sold for his own profit? It is no doubt in print somewhere, but I do not know where to look for it.) The only other book of 1538 is a little fat volume—I have never seen it, but I think the epithet is justified by its description as containing nearly 500 leaves in 16mo—wherein are bound up two works by Cardinal Thomas of Gaeta[1]—a *Summula de peccatis* and an exposition of 64 passages—

[1] Not Caietano, as he is sometimes called. His family name was de Vio.

"*jentacula*," "snacks," the title calls them— from the New Testament. This book marks an epoch in the Giolitine annals. With it for the first time Giovanni makes his appearance definitely as a Venetian printer. It is *per D. Iohannem Giolitum de Trino.* The type, says Signor Bongi, is that of Stagnino, who now passes out of the story. His last publication is of this year, though one book by the brothers Stagnini, perhaps his sons, seems to have come out as late as 1575. Also the device of the phœnix, which remained for two-thirds of a century the cognizance of the firm, is first used in the Cardinal's little treatise. As to this device, which became famous all over Europe, it may be noted that the phœnix had been used by Stagnino in one of the latest books that he printed, the *Contra l'Astrologia* of Savonarola (1536). The general arrangement of his device is very different, and his motto is "Cremerusque licet, nunquam deficiam"; but his bird has some resemblance to some of Giolito's. I say some, for in the course of its long career that bird underwent many changes, at least seven phœnixes being distinguishable, including the large one, gazing on a sun, now in profile, now full-face, which was used as a tail-piece. Dibdin, who owns himself "an arrant enthusiast in these Gioliti publications," calls it an eagle. The phœnix probably stood as ensign over Gabriel's houses in Ferrara, Bologna, and Naples, in all which cities he did a retail trade; his house in Venice bore its name; Charles V sent him a jewel in its figure; and he christened his eldest daughter Fenice.

In 1539 another stage in the history of the house was reached. The "*Commentaries*" of Galeazzo Capella on the affairs connected with the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the Duchy of Milan, translated into Italian by Dr. Philipopoli of Florence, contains the earliest examples of those beautiful initial letters, cut in wood, which were for many years the chief ornament of the Giolitine press. As was pointed out many years ago in *Bibliographica* they are so designed that the letter forms the initial of the person or subject represented in the wood-cut. *A* may be Adam or Apollo, *D*, Daphne or David, *J*, Jeremiah or Jupiter or Juno, *N*, Neptune, *V*, Vulcan, and so forth. The fashion does not seem to have spread much

beyond Venice, where Valgrisi and others copied it; though I have a Verona-printed book of the end of the century with a spirited zoological series, and I think I have seen stray blocks in French and Italian books of much later date; chance survivals. Giolito's anyhow are always good, sometimes perfect little vignettes, and of enormous variety. One would like to know who his artists were. An almost equally interesting point about Capella's book is that in it for the first time Gabriel's name appears in one of his father's publications; not indeed on the imprint as a partner in the business, but as its virtual director. The dedication of the book is to Frederick Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who, by the acquisition of Montferrat, had, as already mentioned, become the overlord of the Gioliti. To him Gabriel wishes health and happiness, and offers his little book, not without reference to the widow's mites. He writes in the singular, and there is no reference whatever to his father; and we shall probably be safe in supposing that Giovanni had retired from active business. He is believed to have died in the following year.

A few words may be said about this epoch-making book. The phœnix on the title and the reverse of the last leaf is the same as the tailpiece of the Petrarch which is reproduced (*cut 1*). There is no colophon, only *privelegii.* The initial blocks are five in number; Daphne, Ganymede, Europa, Juno, Proserpine. All recur frequently in later books of the house. Gabriel was now practically started on his own account, though Giovanni's initials appear on a book for the only time in the history of the house without a date, the *Ecloghe Pescatorie* of Count Matteo of San Martino. Gabriel started propitiously so far as his chances of success went. His father had obviously built up a good connexion. He had, as we have seen, taken over the stock-in-trade of Stagnino, whose type appears in the first Petrarch of 1544, characterized by a curious semi-Gothic d and z; and one of his son's first actions was to acquire that of Zanetti, who seems to have fallen on evil times, and, if we may believe Anton Francesco Doni, into evil ways. But Doni, though a man of letters, had thus much of the soldier about him, that what he said is not evidence; so we may perhaps continue to

think kindly of Bartolommeo Zanetti, who deserves our gratitude for having, in 1537, produced the first edition of Villani's *Croniche*—which may very likely have broken him. It is possible that the fortunes of his family revived, for a Zanetti printed a book at Venice in or about 1567.

However, to return to Gabriel. He showed at once that he was not going to content himself with the production of legal and theological

1. Phœnix: Tail-piece to *Petrarch* of 1544.

works such as those which, with the exception of the Dante of 1536 and the Petrarch of 1538, had been the mainstay of his father's business. Even with regard to those two books, one seems to see the younger partner's influence at work. Can we not imagine him saying: "Look here, father, we must be moving with the times. Might we not do a Dante? Every self-respecting publisher has a Dante. The Tinman will no doubt let us use his old edition, and we can stick a new preface and *Tavola* at the

beginning, add a few notes, and a new title with our name to it. We may as well have a new Ariosto too. Then, if they catch on, let us try a Petrarch. Petrarch is all the thing nowadays since Monsignor Bembo took up Italian against Latin; sells better than Dante, I fancy. Boccaccio would go well with his friend." Then, when the Dante and the Petrarch, and the Ariosto and the Boccaccio had come out—and let us hope had done well—it would be: "Don't you think, father, that we might have a nice *impresa* for the firm? There is Andrea of Asolo with his dolphin, and the Giuntas with their lily, and the Sessas with their cat. Why should not we go one better and have a motto, too? Now there is Stagnino again. He started a phœnix just before he gave up; let us take that. You cannot have anything better for a publishing house—immortality of literature and all that. One edition gone to light the fire, another all ready to go on with." (This last interpretation, I may remark, is not Signor Bongi's, who sees in the undying bird an allusion to the return of the house to Venice.) Nor is it mine. It is—only he puts it in a more stately form—that of Gabriel's friend Ludovico Dolce, who in his "Dialogue on the qualities, diversities, and properties of colours," gives this explanation of the use of the phœnix by the most noble and honoured Signor Gabriello Giolito: "Anche questo non mi spiacerebbe, fiol mio," we can hear the old gentleman saying, "But my time is up: Io son quasi morto; fa come ti pare convenevole."

So Gabriel got to work. One is rather sorry to see that his first book—for so I take it to be—was one intended to suit the taste of the less estimable students of the national literature, namely a work by the abominable Nicolo Franco, then living in Venice as a kind of understudy to the equally abominable, but more brilliant Pietro Aretino. Franco was most deservedly hanged thirty years later by order of Pius V, who for once got hold of the right man; not so much, however, for the foulness of his writings as for his audacity in pasquinading the Pontiff himself. This book, the *Dialoghi Piacevoli*, and the *Petrarchista*, issued in the same year, 1539, were re-issued several times before 1559. Most of Aretino's comedies and

some of his letters also came from the Giolitine press during the same period. In justice to Gabriel it must be said that he does not seem to have published the foulest works of either writer; but one regrets that he should have had any business dealings with such a brace of scoundrels. However, Gabriel soon did better things, and did them well. In 1542 he produced the first edition of his small *Ariosto*, the most original, says Signor Bongi, and the most universally welcomed work of Italian literature in the 16th century. It is indeed a charming little book; printed in a small

2. From *Ariosto* of 1543 (Canto XXI).

but sufficiently clear roman letter, and adorned with wood-cuts which are singled out by Vasari, in the rambling chapter which he calls "Lives of Marcantonio and others," for special commendation. The book gained great popularity, and was, as it deserved, reprinted, with slight modifications—it is very rarely that any two of Gabriel's editions were quite identical—repeatedly till 1560. Our illustrations, *2* and *3*, are from the edition of 1543. The British Museum possesses a magnificent copy on vellum, prepared expressly for the Dauphin of France, to whom the book is dedicated, the future Henry II, the husband of Catherine de' Medici. This edition is rarely met with now, and it is said to have fetched 10 guineas at the Heber

3. From *Ariosto* of 1543.

sale. The reproductions which are given are from an edition of the next year. It will be noticed that the globe on which the phœnix sits has developed into a vase with foot and cover from which issue the flames on which the immortal bird is reposing; also that Gabriel still spelt his

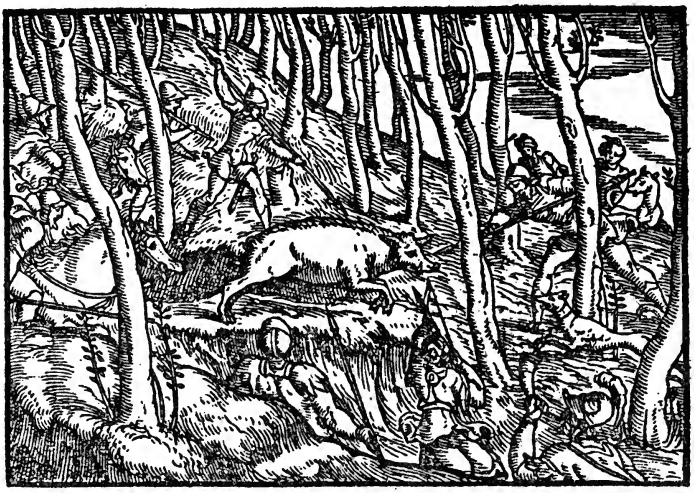
DELLE RIME DI
M. PIETRO BEMBO
TERZA ET VLTIMA
IMPRESSIONE.
TRATTA DALL'ESEM=
PLARE CORRETTO DI SVA
mano: tra lequali ce ne sono
molte non piu stampate.
CON PRIVILEGIO
MORTE ETERNA VITA
SEMPER
G
G
F
IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL
GIOLITO DE FERRARI
MDXLVIII.

4.

family name with J or I. In the edition of 1546 he has adopted the GI, to which he afterwards stuck. In the same year, 1542, he also published two Boccaccios, a large and a small. One at least of these is in the Museum. I am ashamed to say I forgot to note its size, but I think it

LIBRO PRIMO DEL CINEGETICO OVER CACCIA,

DI TITO GIOVANNI SCANDIANESE.



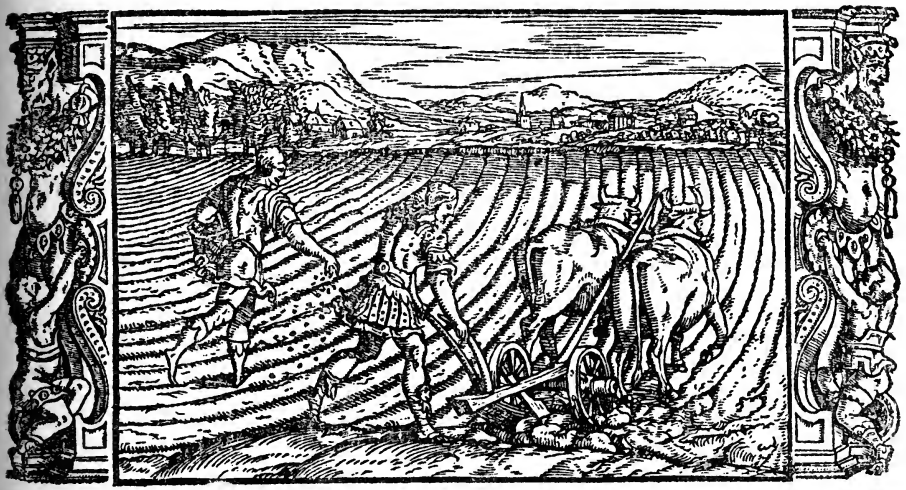
DOI che del cacciator, dolci fatiche
Cantiamo, e delle fiere inclite prede
Fatte fra boschi, o in le campagne apriche
Vergine Dea; che con ueloce piede
Correndo uai per l'alte selue antiche
Porge soccorso, e col fratello herede
Del solar raggio, a me presta la luce,
Che sicura fra mostri riconduce.

Propositione con l'inuocation congiunta, secondo il costume Greco, tolta da Gracio.

Diana Dea de Cacciatori, et Deade la Luna, laqual dal Sol riceue il lume secõdo i Matematici.

5. From *I Quattro Libri della Caccia di T. G. Scandianese.* 1556.

is the little one. The note I have says "Very beautiful; engraved title, with portrait of Boccaccio. Phœnix in early form at end." While on the subject of Boccaccio I may say that I possess an edition in small form, published by Gabriel and his brother in 1552, in which the portrait has been shifted to the end of the preliminary matter. The frontispiece of this is similar to those of the *Ulixea* of 1553 and the *Dante* of 1555. A pretty little edition of Bembo's lyric poetry was produced in 1548 (*see cut 4*),



6. From *Le Transformationi di M. Ludovico Dolce.* 1553. 'Canto Sesto.'

shortly after the cardinal's death. Before leaving the illustrations a word should be said of the *Caccia* of Giovanni Tito Scandianese (*cut 5*). This book, published in 1556, is one of the most beautiful ever issued under the sign of the Phœnix. It is a treatise on field sports in three cantos of *ottava rima;* indifferent enough, but copiously adorned with wood-cuts of hunting and other scenes, executed with much spirit, and great beauty of design. Equally fine are the cuts in the *Trasformazioni* of Dolce (1552) (*cut 6*), a paraphrase in *ottava* of Ovid's *Metamorphosis.* Nor must I omit to mention a *Hore della gloriosa Vergine Maria,* in 12mo (1570), containing

very charming wood-cut illustrations of the occupations belonging to the various months, and full page cuts, possibly by an artist of the school of Pordenone, of various incidents in the life of the Virgin (*cut 7*).

About the time when Gabriel's business was most flourishing, and himself at the height of his prosperity, a curious episode occurred, which, so far as I have been able to discover, has escaped the notice of all who have interested themselves in him and his career. In 1549 and 1552 he brought out editions in 12mo of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. In 1552 an obscure Venetian printer, by name Domenico Giglio,[1] produced the same work in a similar form, and with an almost precisely similarly arranged title. This need not have meant anything, the like has often been seen since. But the curious thing is that Giglio's device is obviously modelled upon Giolito's. There is the globe in the form which Giolito had now adopted, with the satyrs' masks affixed to either side, only, whereas his satyrs smile benevolently, those of Giglio have a distinctly mocking grin. The globe bears, similarly distributed, the initials, D. G. F. There is as yet nothing to correspond with Giolito's phœnix. The motto on a scroll above the globe is *Sic semper ero*. The "supporters" are two female sea-goats, with intertwined tails, winged, and each having between its fore-feet two objects, a globe and what may be the steering oar of the period. The symbolism of these is obscure. The Cortigiano was re-issued by Giglio in 1587. His next flight was bolder. We have seen that the old Giolito firm had, in 1538, produced a Petrarch in 4to, under the editorship of Alessandro Vellutello. Gabriel reproduced this in 1544 (*cut 8*), and in the next fourteen years, five more issues of it. Concurrently with these he was issuing a Petrarch in 12mo, edited by Dolce (who lived for some time

(1) Signor Bongi says (vol. i, p. 340) that Giglio had, in 1551, published a Petrarch with Dolce's Commentary, "probably with the permission of Dolce and Giolito." The last seems very doubtful. It is much more likely that the book (if it ever existed) was a piracy; which might account for subsequent developments. Signor Bongi does not say where, if at all, a copy is to be found, nor give any authority for his statement. I possess a copy of a Petrarch, "di nuovo ris tampato," by Giglio, dated 1552, a very beautiful little book in small 8vo, which is probably a second edition of that of 1551. The Commentary, however, is by Vellutello.

7. From *Hore della gloriosa Vergine.* 1570. 'All hora di Sesta' (p. 60).

under his roof as a kind of editorial manager), which appeared no less than thirteen times from 1547 to 1560. Of the large Vellutello edition there was an issue in 1552. In the same year Giglio capped it with another of smaller format (the page is a little smaller than that of Giolito's *Ariosto* of 1546), like-

8. Petrarch and Laura, from Giolito's edition of 1544.

wise with Vellutello's Commentary, as mentioned in the last note. This is a very charming little book; the text in a clear roman, the notes in italic. The cuts to the *Trionfi* in this book, though small—1.5 by 2.18 inches—are exquisitely clear, and bear studying with a glass. The designs are very effective. The initial blocks are partly "historiated," partly floriated. The *impresa* is as in the *Cortigiano*. Whether the annexation of Vellutello's Com-

mentary, to which some form of copyright may still have been attached, and which Giolito had often printed, caused unpleasantness between the great publisher and his less eminent competitor, or whether some pique existed already, there is nothing to show ; but in the following year, 1553, Giglio was there again with another Petrarch. In this he adopted the Commentary of Andrea Gesualdo, a Neapolitan scholar, now some years dead. He now shows a little of the cloven hoof. The book is dedicated to Bernardo Priuli ; and in the course of his dedication, Giglio or his editor takes occasion to make some trenchant remarks about how the "purse of some printer, who has more wealth than diligence, is apt to dazzle the eyes of many in such wise that they cannot distinguish learning from ignorance." He does not want, he tells his patron, to be commended for having got someone who is able to correct colons and commas ; he requires real erudition—and more to the same effect. However, he turned out, what must, in its original state, have been a very handsome book, and must have taken a good deal of capital to produce. The frontispiece is an architectural design with the portraits of Petrarch and Laura in medallions. The *impresa* appears only on the last leaf. It is printed in a very clear and pretty italic, large and small ; it has the alphabetical initial blocks of a different series to any other that I am acquainted with ; the wood-cuts to the *Trionfi*, which are quite different to those of the previous year, seem to me fully as good as Giolito's—as pictures even better. All have beautiful landscape backgrounds, bounded by mountains, obviously dolomitic. They measure 4.2 by 3.3 inches. Giolito, it may be noted, also produced a Petrarch this year with Gesualdo's Commentary, for the only time.

The next book of Giglio's to which I would call attention is the *Diporti* of Girolamo Parabosco, published in 1558 (*cut 9*). Here he is not directly competing with Giolito, for, though the latter seems to have had nearly all Parabosco's other works on his catalogue, no issue of this, the most famous of all, is known to have come from his press. Is it possible that he was known to have been contemplating an edition, and that Giglio got in first ? At any rate this is, if not the *editio princeps* of the *Diporti*

I DIPORTI
DI M. GIROLAMO
PARABOSCO.

NOVAMENTE RISTAMPATI,
& diligentiſsimamente reuiſti.

IN VINEGIA,
Appreſſo Domenico Giglio.
1 5 5 8.

9.

(for Griffio had printed it in 1552), at any rate regarded as the best text, and there have not been many since. In this volume the device has been considerably and significantly altered. The lower part, while remaining substantially the same in subject, has been re-drawn, but the initials are now only D. G., above and below the equator of the globe. But on the globe now stands a bird, of a species that I cannot identify (it looks like a pigeon; but do pigeons catch scorpions?), clearly in imitation of Giolito's phœnix, holding in its beak a scorpion. The *sic semper ero* is gone, and its place is taken by the words *Non sine quare sic facio* ("Not without why and wherefore act I thus"). The same motto, but with a device of a pelican, was used by Gabriel's brothers when they set up a press at Trino in 1562. The bird stands on another scroll bearing the letters (which again baffle me) N. S. C. C. F. The only other book of Giglio's which I will mention—it is the only other I know of—is an edition of the *Capitoli* of Berni and other writers, mostly unedifying (though respectable people like Varchi and Dolce are represented). The first volume is dedicated to Geronimo Foscari, the second to Bartolomeo Gonzardi, with dates December, 1564, and April, 1566, respectively. It was a somewhat audacious thing to print Berni and most of the rest at that date; they were well on the Index, and Giolito was just at that time in trouble with the Holy Office for merely having them in his shop. So much for Domenico Giglio. I wish I could tell more about him and his relations with Giolito. Did he claim to be one of the Ferrarii's stock? And had he been snubbed by the more prosperous member, and perhaps made to drop his pretensions, as is suggested by the omission of the F in his later device? At any rate, I think I have started rather a nice hare for somebody with more skill in this sort of chase to run. I may just add that in the *Biblioteca Italiana*, for which Nicolas Haym stood sponsor, Giglio's second Petrarch seems to be assigned to Giolito; though Giolito's of that year may be meant.

But I need not follow Gabriel through all his business. His success was now assured. In 1544 he married Lucrezia Bini, of a good Venetian

family. She bore him twelve children, of whom six died young. Two sons at least, Giovanni and Gianpaolo, survived him and carried on the business

IL SECONDO
VOLVME

DI LE RIME
SCELTE
DI DIVERSI AVTORI,
DI NVOVO CORRETTE,
E RISTAMPATE.
CON PRIVILEGIO.

IN VENETIA,
APPRESSO I GIOLITI.
M D LXXXVIII.

10.

after his death early in 1578. A specimen of their work is given (*cut 10*). How he had a fine house in Venice, where he entertained the Duke of Mantua; how he took his brothers into partnership from 1550 to 1555—

the little Spanish Odyssey has, you will see (*cut 11*), *con sus hermanos*, and his Dante, his only Dante, of two years later, *et fratelli;* how he

11.

opened branches in Ferrara, Bologna and Naples; how he got into trouble with the Inquisition at the last named place; all this you will find in Signor Bongi, or better still in Mr. Brown, whose extensive and

peculiar knowledge of Venice, its history and its archives, enables him to add touches of local colour to the rather less stimulating source from which he draws his facts. On the matter of the Inquisition perhaps I should say a few words. When Gabriel set up his shop in Naples, for the sale not of his own publications only, but of literature generally, he put one Pietro Ludrini in charge of it. Presently, however, he had cause to think that Ludrini was cheating him, and accordingly in 1563 he sent Battista Cappello to replace him, authorising him if Ludrini resisted him, to invoke the law. Ludrini went, but used his knowledge of the stock to lay an information before the Holy Office. Down came the officers one evening and searched the premises. In the shop they found nothing, but on the mezzanine floor were found, set out on tables (Capello said, to keep them out of mischief) a large number of strictly prohibited books. The official Roman Index had been published in 1559, replacing the various local catalogues, which had not been of much efficiency. Gabriel had accepted it promptly. No more Aretinos, Francos, Boccaccios, Machiavellis for his press. Even *Ariosto*, though not, I think, actually prohibited, was too worldly to suit the taste of the serious public for whom he henceforth catered; and his last issue of the *Furioso* was in 1560. But we may suppose he did not want wholly to waste his stock; though one would have thought that his chance of disposing of forbidden books would have been better in the lax Venice than in Naples, under the very eye of the straightest sect of Inquisitors, backed by orthodox Spanish officials. The books were duly seized, forbidden and lawful alike, an inventory was made, which has fortunately been preserved, and a very entertaining document it is. Not only do heretics like Melancthon, Erasmus, Hutten, or loose writers like Aretino, Boccaccio, Berni, figure in it, while even Monsignor della Casa himself, now a rigid Inquisitor, appears with them; but jurists like Zasius the great writer on law of the previous century. Oldendorp's *De Copia Verborum et Rerum in Jure Civili* shares the same fate. Anything from Germany seems to have been suspect. We find two *Diccionarii Musteri*. As another dictionary follows, I strongly suspect that under this lurks Sebastian Münster's great

Cosmographia. The blameless historian Leonardo Bruni, often called Aretino, has to suffer for having been born in the same city as the disreputable Pietro. Castiglione appears once, but this I take to be a stupid clerk's blunder for Sebastian Castellione, the heretic of the previous generation. Machiavelli, usually spelt Malgivello or Malgavello, of course goes; the *Art of War* along with the *Prince.* Considering how much the official Church had learnt from him, this seems ungrateful.

I have referred above to the one undated book of the house. If I am not mistaken, one at least was issued without imprint. In 1545 there appeared at Venice an edition of the Paradossi of that erratic genius, Hortensio Lando. It has no register or printer's name, but the type is curiously like that used by Giolito and brothers in the *Varii Componimenti* of the same author, printed in 1552. Why Gabriel should have withheld his name from the Paradossi I am unable, without a fuller perusal than I have yet been able to make of the work, to divine; but Landi did not always meet with the approval of more serious persons, and if I am not mistaken, the name of the Paradossi occurs in the list of Giolito's books seized by the Inquisitors.

I think I have said as much about the Gioliti as you will have cared to hear; and enough to show that the history of Venetian printing does not end with Aldus Manutius. Indeed, I wonder that no one has undertaken a history of it after he had left the scene. There are Sessa, Valgrisi, Bindoni, Pasini, Nicolo da Sabbois, Nicolo d'Aristotele, called the cripple, Griffio (also of Lyons) and a host of others, whose *imprese* alone form a most interesting study. Will not our Society think of it?

SOME MAGAZINES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By G. F. BARWICK.

Read 15th February, 1909.

THE Oxford Dictionary thus defines a magazine: "A periodical publication containing articles by various writers; chiefly a periodical publication intended for general rather than learned or professional readers, and consisting of a miscellany of critical and descriptive articles, essays, works of fiction, etc." This definition suits the eighteenth century perfectly, for class magazines were few in number, but it is perhaps hardly so suitable to the twentieth when all sections, from motorists to stamp collectors, have their special magazines or journals. However, that is another story, and the object of this paper is simply to give an outline of the character and development of the magazines of the eighteenth century, as far as possible in the words of the editors and publishers of the time.

The magazine of the eighteenth century was, in general, a totally different production from what we know by that name at the present time. It contained in addition to essays, stories, and scraps of current gossip, some or all of the following classes of news: Reports of debates in Parliament; lists of births, marriages and deaths; promotions, civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical; biographical notices of the persons recognized as eminent by the publishers of the magazine, or likely to

interest its readers; commercial items, such as the prices of various commodities, the arrival and departure of merchant vessels and similar matters. Thus the magazines of the eighteenth century had usually some definite serial information to give, and did not resemble the surprise packet which we often associate with the name to-day. It is this feature which accounts for their number and popularity. Indeed, it is the facts they registered which give them their permanent value, especially when they are provided with indexes. But unfortunately only a few are thus provided, and information must often be sought laboriously by wading through the volumes.

The Parliamentary intelligence is usually worth very little, for the writers drew vastly upon their imaginations for the speeches put into the mouths of the debaters, who figured under thin disguises of fanciful or classical names. In fact when Dr. Johnson, who got nearer the truth than most of his colleagues, found that people were beginning to believe that his reports were literally true, he ceased to write them.

As regards the purely literary matter contributed directly to the magazines of the eighteenth century, the best of it has now been included either in the works of the authors, or in collections of fugitive pieces; and it would need a specialist in eighteenth century literature to detect any gems that may still lie hidden in the less known and short-lived magazines of that period.

The name as defined appears to begin with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731, the object of which is thus stated in the preface: "To give monthly a view of all the pieces of wit, humour or intelligence, daily offered to the publick in the News-Papers (which of late are so multiplied, as to render it impossible, unless a man makes it a business, to consult them all), and in the next place we shall join therewith some other matters of use or amusement that will be communicated to us. Upon calculating the numbers of News-Papers, 'tis found that (besides divers written Accounts) no less than 200 Half-sheets per Month are thrown from the press only in London, and

about as many printed elsewhere in the three Kingdoms; a considerable part of which constantly exhibit Essays on various subjects for entertainment; and all the rest occasionally oblige their Readers with Matters of Publick Concern, communicated to the World by persons of capacity thro' their means; so that they are become the chief channels of amusement and intelligence. But then being only loose papers, uncertainly scatter'd about, it often happens that many things deserving attention, contained in them, are only seen by accident, and others not sufficiently publish'd or preserved for universal benefit and information. This consideration has induced several Gentlemen to promote a Monthly Collection, to treasure up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable pieces on the subjects abovementioned."

The chief point to notice here is that the newspapers were rapidly developing into magazines and reviews in a small way. But the establishment of a successful magazine which battened on their choicest morsels, and then strengthened its position by adding first class original matter, threw them back upon news, and conduced, perhaps largely, to the foundation of newspapers occupying themselves solely with events of the day. Another point (of separate interest) is the mention of "divers written accounts," which refers to the fact that in 1731 some of the newsletters were still copied out by hand instead of being printed, and anyone who has gone through the library of an old country house can hardly have failed to come across some specimens. Vast numbers have been destroyed under the impression that they were merely manuscript copies of printed sheets, whereas they are frequently much more interesting and more outspoken than those which appeared in type.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* was preceded by several short lived attempts in the same direction, such as the *Monthly Miscellany of* 1707–09 and the *Bibliotheca Literaria of* 1722, but that excellent man of business, Cave the publisher, was the first to see exactly what was wanted and to supply it. The history of this magazine is given so fully in Boswell's Life of Johnson and elsewhere, that no more need be said about it here.

The total number of miscellaneous magazines published in London between 1731 and 1800 is probably not greatly in excess of the sixty contained in the list below. The following may be specially noticed. *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 1732. This was founded as a rival to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and flourished until 1785.

"*The Bee, or Universal Weekly Pamphlet.*" 1733–35.—This magazine was conducted by Eustace Budgell, whose character was somewhat shady. But he seems to have had justice on his side in his contest with the Stamp Commissioners. It would appear that in *Bee* No. 10 he incurred the displeasure of Osborne, the publisher of the *London Journal*, and to continue in Budgell's own words: "In a day or two after this *Bee* came out the Commissioners of the Stamp Office sent a messenger on purpose to let our publisher know, that they would enter no more of the *Bees* in their Office but expected we should pay for stamping them. To demand that a pamphlet should be stamped is directly contrary to the Act of Parliament, which lays a duty upon all pamphlets of two shillings a sheet, and is such a demand as was never heard of in England till this day .... To shew the monstrous nature of this demand, let it be consider'd, that our *Bee* contained never less than 3 sheets, and has sometimes contained 4½ sheets of paper. A stamp upon 4½ sheets of paper amounts to 4½*d.*; we sold the pamphlet itself for 4½*d.* to the Trade, and gave them a book besides upon every quarter of an hundred, so that what these merciful commissioners had the conscience to demand for stamping every book was more money than the book actually sold for."

The matter was allowed to drop and the *Bee* was republished after three weeks' suppression. The *London Magazine* and the booksellers appear to have rejoiced overmuch at what they called "the downfall of the *Bee*," and Budgell's remarks on the occasion are amusing and certainly not undeserved. "They call the *Bee*, an unjust, piratical insertion of the properties of other people. Their own publication, the *London Magazine* is most notoriously known to be nothing else but a bare collection from our London papers ... The collectors of this Magazine have done us the

favour to take some things from the *Bee* . . . It is certain that part of our *Bee* is an extract from other papers . . . and perhaps our readers are much more obliged to us than they imagine . . . for being often content to turn up a whole dunghill, in hopes that (like the cock in the fable) we may find a single jewel in it." In the preface to the third volume the editor boasts that "Our *Bee* is already translated and published twice a week at Hamburgh, from where he flies over all Germany. We have reason to believe that he will soon be translated into French in order to make his appearance at Paris." All trace of this Hamburgh edition appears to be lost, and as the *Bee* itself ceased in 1735 it most probably never appeared in French.

"*The Bee Reviv'd: or the Prisoner's Magazine. Containing the greatest curiosities in prose and verse, from all the other Magazines and the politest books and papers now in being. For the benefit of the Compiler, a prisoner for debt in Whitechapel Jail.*" 1750.—This does not mean a revival of the "*Bee*" just mentioned, but apparently refers to some other magazine of that name, now untraceable. The title was of course a very common one. The statement that the compiler was a prisoner for debt in Whitechapel Jail, leads us to wonder how he obtained his materials. The magazine opens with a curious account of the hardships and miseries suffered by the prisoners. In the course of it the writer remarks: "It is an observation commonly made in publik company that a man had better go to Tyburn and be hanged, than to be carry'd to Whitechapel jail for debt." The way in which prisoners had to pay their footing reminds one of Mr. Pickwick's experiences in the Fleet.

"*The Magazine of Magazines.*" 1751.—In a very naive introduction the editors say that all the magazines are filled with extracts from "casual authors" and that the poor and trifling pieces obscure those that are "elegant, instructive or entertaining," and propose by selecting only the best to make a really good magazine out of all the others!

"*The Imperial Magazine, or Complete Monthly Intelligencer. By His Majesty's Authority.*" 1760–61.—The introduction so well sums up the

character of the magazines then current, that a portion of it deserves to be quoted. "Had the expectations of the Public been rationally satisfied with the execution of the pompous plans and proposals that have been given for the great number of monthly magazines lately set on foot, they that now solicit your favour would not have thought of rivalling their undertakings in a similar work. But as the parade of puffing up a high monthly bill of fare has generally ended in furnishing no better treats than incongruous hashes from gazette accounts and newspaper essays, plagiarisms from books, and a few flimsy, unimproving and unmeaning productions from men of little learning and less knowledge of the world, there appears as fair an opening at present, as in any past period of time, for the offering a compilation that can be made truly useful and entertaining." This magazine however only lasted for two years.

"*The Monthly Miscellany, or Gentleman and Lady's complete Magazine . . . Wherein every valuable production in the several magazines, reviews and other periodical publications is regularly and carefully collected.*" 1774.—The frontispiece, which is here reproduced, represents the editors of the other magazines bringing their productions to be rifled for the benefit of the *Monthly Miscellany*. This looks like adding insult to injury, but evidently by this time it had become recognized as not merely lawful, but quite the correct thing to treat the magazines as they had treated the newspapers, and make a new publication by selecting the best bits out of all the others. The practice was defended by the argument that newspapers and periodicals were not like books, but that their circulation ended as each new number came out. The rights of the author in those days were to a great extent a negligible quantity.

"*The European Magazine.*" 1782–1826.—The issue of this periodical marks the first important enlargement of the miscellaneous magazines. In the words of the editors: "It has been urged against magazines in general that they have either been too gay for the serious or too serious for the gay; that the man of learning could find little for his entertainment, and the student less for his instruction. That, in short, they have either been

Jam.s Taylor sculp.

The Editors of the several Magazines & Reviews bringing their Productions, to have the Beauties Recorded in the Monthly Miscellany.

No. 1.

BEHOLD THE MAN!

Whofe true Character fhall be given in the INTREPID MAGAZINE

No. 2.

frivolous without mirth, or grave without solidity. They have desired to find in a magazine what they enjoy in a bouquet, a collection of literary flowers, happily combined, blended and arranged, so as to preserve and increase, by union, their respective beauty. Great pains have been taken to give to periodical publications this merit, but their limits were too narrow for the extensive scheme—they could not comprehend so great a variety of matter in the compass to which they were necessarily confined. We therefore have thought necessary to enlarge the scale, in order to the accomplishment of this important object." This magazine also makes the first appeal to the Colonies: "It has been a well-founded complaint of the distant parts of the British dominion that they are really destitute of any adequate and proper source of European information. The intelligence of the newspapers is too complicated to be used—that of the magazines too abrupt. The wish for a regular communication of events, accompanied with a view of the history, the politics, the fashions, the amusements and the literature of the times. We mean, if possible, to supply this want."

"*The Intrepid Magazine. By the Rev. Wm. Hamilton, M.A.*" No. 1. 1784.—This is described as a private venture, by a man who claims to be of independent means. He has a powerful grudge against Stockdale the bookseller, whose portrait forms the frontispiece, with the legend: "Behold the man, whose true character shall be given in the *Intrepid Magazine.*" It is given on page 53, apparently with the object of inducing Stockdale to enter an action for libel. The following is a short extract from the six columns which the character fills. "Stockdale is the son of a blacksmith in Cumberland, where having been initiated in the trade by his father, he was sent to practise the marshal's art at Bursham in North Wales. Having some relationship with Miller, the famous printer of the *London Evening Post*, who has run away from his wife and children to America, he was induced to try his fortune in London; and Miller's connexions lying in the bibliopolian way, as he made up in bodily strength for the weakness of his intellect, he got to be admitted porter to Mr. Almon's pamphlet shop . . . His cousin Mr. Sewell had the kindness to teach

him the little writing he knows, which amounts rather to more than an ability to write his name . . .

"Almon had entrusted to Stockdale to procure the binding of his books and on this he takes a profit to himself; but his master finding out his intrigues resolves to dismiss him and make an agreement with Debrett; upon which Stockdale accuses Almon of treachery, but having . . . by the pitiful means mentioned scraped together about forty pounds, he takes to himself a wife, not caring whether she had one eye or two, as long as she had got fifty or sixty pounds in money, and sets up as a pamphleteer."

It will be remembered that Stockdale was tried in 1789 for publishing Logan's "*Review of the Principal Charges against Warren Hastings*" as a libel on the House of Commons, that is to say on the managers of the impeachment. He was most ably defended by Baron Erskine and acquitted. The portrait is here reproduced (No. 2), and though called a "caricature portrait" in the magazine, it probably gives a good presentment of Stockdale's features.

"*The New London Magazine.*" 1785–1788.—This publication has a most remarkable frontispiece (reproduction, No. 3), of which the following explanation is given on the verso of the titlepage: "In the middle of the plate, before a monument raised to the achievements of the present reign, is emblematically represented the City of London, with the cap of Liberty . . . The next figure to the right hand is Justice driving Deceit, Envy, Detraction and Avarice from her presence. On the left in the foreground is Plenty, and the Boys, Globe, etc., point out the several subjects of the arts and sciences, geography, astronomy, mathematics, painting, etc., which will be treated of in this work. Mercury, the Ships in the Harbour, etc., represent the Trade and Commerce of the City of London, whose Cathedral Church . . . is viewed at a distance; and the Temple of Fame, on an eminence, may be allowed to be descriptive of that high estimation and preference which are already bestowed and given to the *New London Magazine* . . . The figure of a Phœnix, at the top of the print, supported

by two flying heralds, indicates the imperfect state and bad execution of the other Magazines, and the universal complaints which have, both in town and country, prevailed against them;—in consequence of which this *New London Magazine* has been undertaken by a Society of Public Spirited Gentlemen, on an improved, general, cheap and very desirable plan."

"*The General Magazine and Impartial Review.*" 1787–91.—The preface is remarkable for the absence of the usual abuse of all contemporaries with which magazines of this period usually open. But the magazine is further noteworthy for what appears to be an entirely new feature at that date. Each monthly number contained as a supplement twenty-four pages of Shakespeare's Plays. They were completed, and also separately issued, in 1791, and form the Bellamy and Roberts edition in 8 vols. of that year. But the magazine did not live to carry out the proposal in its first number of continuing with the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, and others.

"*The Biographical and Imperial Magazine. Containing history, philosophy, literature, politics, arts, manners and amusements.*" 1789–92.—In vol. 1, p. 119, there is an interesting article headed New Institution. It reads: "The want of a public library in this great city has been long and loudly complained of; that of the Museum being extremely circumscribed in its use. To remedy this defect, a set of public spirited gentlemen, among whom are some of the first literary characters of the age, have set on foot an association, under the title of *The Westminster Literary Society*. The first object of this is to establish a Public Library; to effect which it is proposed that every person becoming a member shall deliver to the Librarian books to the value of 2 guineas; and shall also subscribe the sum of one guinea to defray the expenses of the society. The like sum of one guinea to be paid yearly by each member. That every author, a member of this society, shall deposit in the library one copy of every work he shall publish in future." The library was to be vested in trustees and books were to be lent out, within twenty miles, and a reading room to be added later. No

other trace of this society is findable, and it is a matter for regret that the library was not established, for at that time there were excellent opportunities for obtaining fine books, especially French books, at a cheap rate.

"*The Hive. A hebdomadal selection of literary tracts; comprising every thing moral, literary or entertaining that has any claim on the public attention.*" 1789.—It is rather difficult to determine what kind of publication the editors consider this to be. In the preface they speak of Magazines and Reviews—"the former containing frivolous anecdotes and essays, dull prose and unharmonious verse—the latter partial opinions of different works, regulated in their praise or blame by the quantum of the bribe the writers of them can afford to offer the reviewers." They describe their own publication as: "A selection of moral and literary tracts rescued from oblivion by a judicious separation from the rubbish under which they are obscured." In any case it contains plenty of "frivolous anecdotes and essays" and among the former are many good old chestnuts that are still current! The very first is the one about the preacher who after exalting St. Francis (in a very long sermon) above the apostles and martyrs asked: "Where shall we place him?" to which a sailor replied: "Put him here, Sir, for I'm going." This story was told to the present writer a few months ago as a brand new one about the Prophet Joel and a butcher!

Two magazines were in more than one language: "*Le Magazin du Monde*," 1776, in French and English, and "*Il Mercurio Italico*," 1789, in Italian and English. The latter has a pretty frontispiece engraved by Bartolozzi from the design of E. F. Burney.

Eighteen provincial miscellaneous magazines are given in the list below, but doubtless the number could be greatly increased from local sources. None of them call for special notice.

In Scotland there were at least fifteen miscellaneous magazines, but, in view of the number added by Mr. Dix to the Irish magazines originally mentioned in this paper (see *infra*), there were possibly many more, though they do not appear in the catalogues of the chief public libraries of

Scotland. Among them may be noticed the well known "*Scots Magazine*," *Edinburgh*, 1739–1826.—The preface gives an interesting contemporary view of the rise of the magazine in the following words: "The general increase of readers for some years past, and the many advantages arising from it in a nation where liberty is enjoy'd, have encouraged various attempts to suit the learning of the times to the purchase and opportunity of persons of every station.

"Amongst these after many trials without success; after *Monthly Mercuries*, *Chronicles*, *Registers*, *Amusements*, *etc.*, had been tried in vain, a Monthly Magazine at last appeared, which from the industry and influence of the proprietor soon met with encouragement; the variety of which it consisted and the unusual quantity it contained yielding satisfaction to all who gave it a perusal.

"The kind reception which the *Gentleman's Magazine* met with quickly produced a rival; and as it is much easier to improve the plan of another, than to form one, the *London Magazine* appeared with some advantage; and had not the managers of that work discover'd so much prejudice against the Gentlemen to whom they owed its existence, it would, probably, have had superior success. But, as it is, they are both enabled to appear with far more advantage than any works of the same kind which preceded them.

"The demand for these Magazines being considerable in this Kingdom, and our distance from the place of their publication rendering their contents stale before they came to hand, several persons were put upon endeavouring to remove these inconveniences by supplying their place with a production of our own, etc."

"*The Perth Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure.*" 1772–73. In an unusually modest preface the editor asks for contributions as well as subscriptions, and adds: "From the uncertainty of the plan which may be most agreeable to his readers, and from the novelty of the work in this corner, it is scarce to be expected that the performance will be so good in the first or second quarter, as it may be afterward by proper encourage-

ment from the public." One is tempted to think that the editor must be an Englishman. Would any self-respecting Scot speak of Perth as a corner? He concludes: "There are many periodical works offered to the public, which have merit of various kinds: the proprietor of this Magazine does not mean to detract from any of them, on the contrary he hopes to avail himself of their worth, and serve up such a weekly mess to his readers as therein each of them may find something entertaining and profitable to partake of and digest."

Of the twenty-seven miscellaneous magazines published in Ireland, the names of nineteen (marked °) have been kindly contributed by Mr. R. McC. Dix, the author of many valuable bibliographies of Irish publications. Mr. Dix says that there were many others, but probably they would not quite satisfy the definition adopted for the purposes of this paper. The following may be specially mentioned.

"*The Gentleman's and London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer. Price a British sixpence. Dublin.*" 1741–85.—This was founded to rival the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which is rather violently attacked in the preface. Instead of taking the weird names adopted by that magazine in reporting political speeches, its Irish rival adopts classical names.

Among the magazines devoted to special subjects, as classified below, the following are noteworthy from the point of view of this paper.

"*The Commercial and Agricultural Magazine.*" 1799–1816.—The advertisement to this publication is both interesting and amusing.

After a paragraph on the English origin of magazines, in which Steele is recognised as the "proper father of Magazine writing," and on the vast number of magazines then publishing, the editor proceeds: "But it is with magazines as with medicines. The undistinguishing eagerness of the public demand, too often enables the quack to snatch for poison, or at best, for insipid stuff without one healing virtue, those gains which ought to be reserved to the regular practitioner . . . You shall see a magazine-maker, who can scarcely read, write or spell, to obtain a reception, in consequence of which . . . the rewards due only to ardent, ingenious literary exertion,

are feloniously interrupted by idleness, stupidity and ignorance. And when a magazine even of this sort has once obtained a general reception, it commonly happens . . . that no dereliction of principles once ostentatiously professed, no perversion of that which is called a channel for the streams of science,—to be a squirt for foul malignity; no Babylonish confusion of sense and language, no negligence of compilation, no blunders . . . no endless babbling of old woman's fables will provoke those who have once taken it in to cease from taking it in still." This is merely a short extract from a long tirade which continues for several pages.

"*The New Musical and Universal Magazine. Consisting of the most favourite songs, airs, etc. . . . Adapted for the German Flute, Violin, etc. . . . Also is included 16 pages of letterpress of amusing and agreeable subjects calculated for the Lady, Gentleman and Musician.*" 1774–75.—The division into Ladies, Gentlemen and Musicians is a good parallel to the well known one, "Men, Women and Curates."

"*The Cabinet Magazine, or Literary Olio: containing an elegant and comprehensive digest of every subject appropriate to a species of Publication so generally understood.*" 1796–97.—The illustrations in this magazine are rather above the average, but are not numerous. It has however one most remarkable feature, namely the introductory address, which is a magnificent specimen, perhaps *the* most magnificent specimen, of inflated English, or Johnsonese run wild, that has ever been seriously printed. After three paragraphs on "the cultivation of the human mind" and "the several mediums of intelligence" it proceeds: "When we reflect that the stupendous compilation and metaphysical treatise are adapted only to the partial occurrences of superfluous wealth or profound understanding, and that a mediocrity both of intellect and possession characterizes the majority of mankind; we shall, I think, readily agree that the compendious abridgement and familiar exposition best suit the interests of society at large: and from an acquaintance with the universal instability of the mind, wearied with long dwelling on one subject, perpetually in pursuit of variety, and even recurring again with pleasure to the same object if presented in a new

dress; as also the peculiar situation of a large portion of the most useful part of the community, whom thé great expenditure of time in following the avocations of life allows but small leisure for the salutary refreshments of nature, much less for mental researches; we shall be led to confess the superiority of the interesting narrative, spirited survey and sound precept, recommended by conciseness and alternate variation, in point of general utility over the long detail, complicated investigation and unrelieved series of formal injunction; as impressing the inconstant before the vigour of comprehension subsides into the indifference of lassitude; and affording the limited enquirer an easy and substantial accession to the essence of knowledge; neither retarding his progress by the terrors of ceremonial introduction, nor diverting him from profitable observation by the splendour of superfluous embellishment." Here we have the first full stop. It continues: "For this end periodical miscellanies, carefully compiled and skilfully arranged, seem happily calculated, as combining the advantages of variety, brevity, and cheapness; and of these the Magazine seems to have a very obvious advantage; being, from the fashion of the times, an almost universal companion; and, from its unbounded circulation, through the slightest connection may be consulted at all times by those whom necessity denies the privilege of purchase.

"On these grounds the Proprietors of the present undertaking, in all the consciousness of rectitude, accompanied by the reasonable hope of an appropriate compensation for their labours, justified by the circumstantial arrangements of Society, present themselves (they hope neither arrogantly nor meanly) to public patronage; and if an unremitted assiduity to form a combination of materials calculated at once to improve the credit of literature and expand the interests of virtue, shall sanction a claim to encouragement, they flatter themselves that their claim will never be refused by the voice of equity; and thus enter upon their task with all the cheerfulness of honest presumption for their success; convinced that an enlightened and liberal age will never withhold approbation while they endeavour to deserve it."

General FRONTISPIECE to The New LONDON MAGAZINE.

Published by Alex.r Hogg at the Kings Arms V.o 16 Paternoster Row, Aug. 1. 1785.

This elegant Design, among other important particulars, emblematically represents the City of LONDON, attended by Justice, Commerce, Plenty, the Arts, &c. the former of whom is driving Deceit, Detraction, and Avarice from her presence.

No. 3.

FRONTISPIECE.

No. 4.

"*The Freeholder's Magazine; or, Monthly Chronicle of Liberty. By a Patriotic Society.*" 2 vol. 1769–70.—This was the organ of the Agitator Wilkes and his party, and is probably the first magazine of this kind. Its object is declared in the introduction: "It has long been a matter of regret that nine-tenths of the people have, in general, either remained wholly ignorant of the violation of their rights, or at least so little informed of the several particulars wherein they have been violated, as to render them totally supine and regardless of consequences the most interesting and alarming." This might well have suggested the Needy Knifegrinder!

"*The By-stander; or, Universal Weekly Expositor. By a Literary Association.*" 1790.—This magazine is on fine quarto paper, and was started with the declared object of applying a remedy to the humours of the nation. The introduction proceeds: "should our united efforts accomplish the smallest amendment . . . we shall evidently deserve . . . THE THANKS OF OUR COUNTRYMEN." They evidently expected something more solid than thanks, for upon completing a volume they say that they had found out "that it was impossible to give a publication of this quantity and quality upon the terms of reaping no other advantage than lavish commendation." Each number contains a sheet of engraved music. Bystander is used here in the sense of supporter.

"*The Christian's Magazine, or a Treasury of Divine Knowledge.*" 8 vol. 1760–67.—Even at this early date the preface, giving "the Design" of the work, says: "The overflowing Tide of periodical Performances under the title of Magazines, have almost rendered that Title ridiculous. But, as the best title signifies little when the contents are indifferent; so a common one was judged best for the present Pamphlet, as conveying more distinctly its purport and design.

"The Compilers of our Magazines seem much to forget that order and regularity is no where more necessary, is no where more strictly

adhered to, than in all real Magazines, or Places of military Store. Hence that unseemly confusion in their compilations." This magazine is accordingly arranged in some eight divisions.

"*The Arminian Magazine: Consisting of Extracts and original treatises on Universal Redemption.*" 1778–1797. Continued as "*The Methodist Magazine*" to 1821.—This was John Wesley's magazine, and in an interesting "Answer to several Objections" prefixed to Vol. 1 he concludes: "But you have no pictures or embellishments which other magazines have. It is true. But I will tell you what I have (if you cannot find it out without telling) such paper as no magazine in *England* was ever printed upon before. Consider! this one single article costs more than all their fine embellishments put together."

No maker's mark appears on the paper, but it is certainly of good quality, and very like that used by Pickering.

"*The Evangelical Magazine.*" 1793, etc.—A note on the title states: "The profits arising from the sale of this magazine are to be applied to charitable purposes." A resolution that has been consistently carried out for upwards of a hundred years.

This magazine, which was recently incorporated with the *Evangelical British Missionary*, celebrated its centenary in 1893, and began, as the preface says, its second century of useful and vigorous life. The editor continues: "There lies before us . . . a copy of the first complete volume . . . Like so many old volumes, it has suffered at the hands of the book defacer—all the portraits have been cut out." Fortunately he is not speaking of the British Museum copy, which is apparently quite perfect. Such, however, is not always the case, and it is often impossible to say whether a copy is absolutely complete or not, for magazines frequently give no list of plates and sometimes do not even mention them in the text. This is especially the case with frontispieces, which are often omitted even from a list of illustrations.

"*The Convivial Magazine, and Polite Intelligencer . . . Containing the portraits of the most celebrated Toasts, men of rank . . . statesmen, orators, preachers petits-maitres, actors and buffoons.*" Vol. 1. 1775.—This is a very interesting publication from the sidelights it throws upon the social life of the period, as the following extract from an article entitled "Domestic Harmony; or the Neighbourly Concert," will show. "In former times ere our shops were metamorphosed by Italian fronts, the cit gloried in plainness and industry, nor left his shop but to join his fellow citizens at a neighbouring coffee-house . . . But now even in the day-time you can scarce pass through a street, but your ears are saluted with the squeaking of a fiddle, the humming of a guitar; or the inharmonious blast of a learner on the German flute. St. Paul's Churchyard in particular vies with most for this musical enticement to customers. In the evening they fly to what they term a neighbourly concert; and, after the example of the great, have Italian musicians to instruct them, and the fine eared grocer, who in the day retails out the sweets of his shop, in the evening expends the profits, joins the domestic band, and entertains his company with the sweets of his violin, and an expensive collation which would better suit the pocket of a peer than that of a shopkeeper." The frontispiece (reproduction No. 4) is thus explained in the preface: "The idea of a Convivial Magazine naturally suggested to us a frontispiece consisting of social beings, attended by Wit, Wisdom, Satire and Humour. These we hope will be the buttresses of this Miscellany. We shall not pretend to say that the greatest geniuses of the age are concerned in this Magazine, but the four gentlemen alluded to in the frontispiece have promised their assistance, and were their names publicly revealed, the public would be convinced that they would be no disgrace to any literary production whatever." There is no further clue to the identification of the portraits.

"*The Matrimonial Magazine, or Monthly Anecdotes of Love and Marriage.*" 1775.—The very appropriate frontispiece represents Cupid and Psyche in a car, drawn by little loves and conducted by a youthful Hymen

to the temple of Marriage. Some of the headings are very amusing: "Instance of conjugal tenderness in a late Nobleman": "Animated effusions of the Heart": "A Pretty Fellow described."

"*The Carlton-House Magazine, or Annals of Taste, Fashion and Politeness.*" 1792-96.—The Address to the Reader states that: "Since the great additional duty on paper, and the advance upon printing and engraving, enterprisers have been deterred from launching a new Magazine, at the old very moderate stipulated price; and have therefore doubled their demands on the public, without furnishing a double portion of entertainment for their readers, either in quantity or quality.

"But, as we are determined to exert our utmost abilities to merit the approbation of our readers, we flatter ourselves with a very extensive sale, at the ancient price of six pence."

"*The Juvenile Magazine.*" 1788.—This is stated to be: "Intended for young people from 7 to 14, and consequently tales of gallantry, love, courtship or marriage cannot be admitted, nor any in which the conduct or foibles of a parent are treated disrespectfully, or set in a ridiculous point of view." It is needless to say that the work is the very quintessence of all that is priggish.

The ladies were well looked after in the eighteenth century, for there are no less than seven magazines specially devoted to them. Indeed they appear to have looked after themselves, if there be any truth in titlepages.

"*The Lady's New and Elegant Pocket Magazine.*" 1795.—The introduction promises that: "In order to unite entertainment with improvement, the innocent charade shall be occasionally introduced, the public amusements recognized with candour and impartiality; some pleasant Essays inserted on humorous subjects; but they shall be such as never to call forth a blush on modesty's cheek; or give offended delicacy an occasion to turn away her face."

LIST OF MAGAZINES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(All, except those marked °, are in the British Museum, and appear under the heading Periodical Publications.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

LONDON.

Gentleman's Magazine	1731
London Magazine; or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer	1732–85
Bee	1733–35
Weekly Amusement, or Universal Magazine	1734–35
Universal Spy, or London Weekly Magazine	1739
Publick Register, or Weekly Magazine	1741
British Magazine	1746–50
Universal Magazine	1747–1815
Traveller's Magazine	1749
Bee Reviv'd, or the Prisoner's Magazine	1750
Magazine of Magazines Well illustrated with maps and plates.	1750–51
Midwife, or the Old Woman's Magazine	1751–53
New Universal Magazine	1754–59
General Magazine of Arts and Sciences	1755–65
Literary Magazine, or Universal Review	1756–58
Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence	1758–60
Grand Magazine of Magazines, or Universal Register	1758–59
Royal Magazine	1759–71
British Magazine, or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies	1760–67

Imperial Magazine With good maps and plates.	1760–61
Library; or Moral and Critical Magazine	1761–62
Court Magazine	1761–63
Saint James's Magazine. By Robert Lloyd	1762–64
Beauties of all the Magazines selected, Including the original comic pieces	1762–64
Universal Museum, or Gentleman's and Ladies' Polite Magazine of history, politics and literature	1762–70
Weekly Amusement	1764–67
Complete Magazine	1764
Town and Country Magazine	1769–91
London Museum of Politics, Miscellanies and Literature	1770–71
Every Man's Magazine	1771–72
Sentimental Magazine	1773–75
Westminster Magazine, or the Pantheon of Taste	1773–85
Monthly Miscellany, or Gentleman and Lady's Complete Magazine	1774
Monthly Ledger; or Literary Repository	1775
Magazin du Monde In French and English.	1776
Selector	1776–77
Gentleman and Lady's Museum	1777
Moral and Entertaining Magazine	1777–79
British Magazine and Review	1782–83
European Magazine	1782–1826
Intrepid Magazine	1784
New London Magazine	1785–88
General Magazine and Impartial Review	1787–92
New Town and Country Magazine	1787
Olla Podrida	1787–88
Royal Magazine	1788
Attic Miscellany	1789

Hive		1789
Biographical and Imperial Magazine		1789–92
Il Mercurio Italico Italian and English.		1789
°General Magazine, or Epitome of Useful Knowledge *London* (?) In Watt; Bibl. Brit., but without indication of imprint.		1793
Pocket Magazine		1794
Monthly Mirror		1795–1800
Bouquet, or Blossoms of Fancy		1795–96
Cabinet Magazine		1796–97
Monthly Magazine		1796–1843
English Magazine, and Commercial Repository		1796–97
Monthly Visitor		1797–1802
Young Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine		1799–1800
British Magazine		1800–1801

PROVINCIAL.

Newcastle General Magazine	*Newcastle*,	1747–60
The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany	*Oxford*,	1750–51
Birmingham Register, or Entertaining Museum	*Birmingham*,	1764–65
Oxford Magazine, or University Museum	*Oxford*,	1768–76
Literary Register	*Newcastle*,	1769–72
Weekly Miscellany	*Sherborne*,	1773–83
Newcastle Weekly Magazine	*Newcastle*,	1776
Bristol and Bath Magazine	*Bristol*,	1782–83
Weekly Entertainer	*Sherborne*,	1784–1825
Newcastle Magazine	*Newcastle*,	1785–86
County Magazine	*Salisbury*,	1786–88
Yorkshire Magazine	*York*,	1786
Olla Podrida *See* supra: London.	*Oxford*,	1787–88
Western County Magazine	*Salisbury*,	1790–92
Genius of Kent, or County Miscellany	*Canterbury*,	1792–95

Kentish Register, or Monthly Miscellany	*Canterbury*,	1793–95
Stockton Bee	*Stockton*,	1793–95
Ipswich Magazine	*Ipswich*,	1799

SCOTCH.

Scots Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1739–1826
British Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1747
°Highland Gentleman's Magazine		1751
Only the Number for January, 1751, appeared. A copy is in the Advocates' Library.		
Aberdeen Magazine	*Aberdeen*,	1761
Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement	*Edinburgh*,	1768–83
Continued as the Edinburgh Weekly Magazine.		
Perth Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure	*Perth*,	1772–73
Dumfries Weekly Magazine	*Dumfries*,	1773–74
Edinburgh Magazine and Review	*Edinburgh*,	1773–76
Dundee Weekly Magazine	*Dundee*,	1776
Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1779–80
Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany	*Edinburgh*,	1785–1803
Caledonian Magazine, or Aberdeen Repository	*Aberdeen*,	1786–89
Aberdeen Magazine	*Aberdeen*,	1788–90
Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer	*Edinburgh*,	1791–93
Aberdeen Magazine	*Aberdeen*,	1796–98

IRISH.

London and Dublin Magazine	*Dublin*,	1734–35
Gentleman's and London Magazine	*Dublin*,	1741–85
°Exshaw's Magazine	*Dublin*,	1741–93
Magazine of Magazines	*Limerick*,	1751–61
°Young Gentleman's and Ladies' Magazine	*Dublin*,	(1760?)
Dublin Magazine	*Dublin*,	1762–65
°Repository, or Library of Fugitive Pieces	*Dublin*,	1763
°Monstrous Magazine	*Dublin*,	1770

Hibernian Magazine Continued from 1786 as Walker's Hibernian Magazine.	*Dublin*,	1771–1812
°Dublin Weekly Magazine	*Dublin*,	1778
°Weekly Magazine and Literary Review	*Dublin*,	1779
°Town and Country Magazine and Irish Miscellany	*Dublin*,	1784–85
°Town and Country Weekly Magazine	*Dublin*,	1786
Dublin Magazine and Irish Monthly Register	*Dublin*,	1788–1800
Universal Magazine	*Dublin*,	1789–93
°Limerick Weekly Magazine or Miscellaneous Repository	*Limerick*,	(June-Dec.) 1790
°Weekly Magazine and Historical Register	*Dublin*,	1793
°Minerva Magazine	*Dublin*,	1793
Anthologia Hibernica	*Dublin*,	1793–94
°Monthly Miscellany, or Irish Review and Register	*Cork*,	1796–97
°Casket, or Hesperian Magazine	*Cork*,	1797–98
°New Magazine	*Dublin*,	1799–1800
°New Magazine Continued as The Strabane Magazine.	*Strabane*,	1799–1800
°Goggins Ulster Magazine	*Monaghan*,	1799–1800
°Dungannon Weekly Magazine	*Dungannon*,	1800
°McKenzie's Loyal Magazine	*Dublin*,	1800
°Olio, or Anything Arian Magazine	*Dublin*,	1800

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Agriculture and Commerce.

Museum Rusticum et Commerciale	*London*,	1766
Farmer's Magazine	*London*,	1776–80
Repository of Arts and Manufactures	*London*,	1794
Economist, or Englishman's Magazine	*Newcastle*,	1798–99
Commercial and Agricultural Magazine	*London*,	1799–1816
Irish Agricultural Magazine	*Dublin*,	1799–1801
Farmer's Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1800–25

Architecture.

Builder's Magazine; or Monthly Companion for Architects, Carpenters, Masons, etc.	*London*,	1774
A fine quarto in good type, with 185 fine plates. Published by Newbery.		

Army.

Soldier's Pocket Magazine	*London*,	1798

Botany.

Botanical Magazine	*London*,	1787–
Curtis.		

Freemasonry.

Jones's Sentimental and Masonic Magazine	*Dublin*,	1778–95
Only 1792–95 in B.M.		
Freemasons' Magazine	*London*,	1793–98

Geography.

°Geographical Magazine; or Universe Displayed	*Dublin*,	1790–92
Bodleian.		

History and Biography.

Wonderful Magazine, or Marvellous Chronicle	*London*,	1764–65
Biographical Magazine	*London*,	1776
Really a biographical dictionary issued in parts.		
Historical Magazine	*London*,	1789–92
Wonderful Magazine and Marvellous Chronicle; or New Weekly Entertainer	*London*,	1793–94
Britannic Magazine	*London*,	1793–1807

Law.

°Lawyer's Magazine, for Easter Term, 1761. No. 1	*London*,	1761
Bodleian.		
Templar	*London*,	1789
Lawyer's and Magistrate's Magazine	*London*,	1790–94

Literature, Poetry, Novels.

Literary Magazine; or the History of the Works of the Learned	*London*,	1734–36
Literary Journal	*Dublin*,	1744–49
Museum; or Literary and Historical Register	*London*,	1746–47
Theatrical Review	*London*,	1763
Poetical Magazine	*London*,	1764
Jester's Magazine	*London*,	1765–66
London Review of English and Foreign Literature	*London*,	1775–80
Novelist's Magazine	*London*,	1780–88
Wit's Magazine	*London*,	1784–85
This contains some illustrations engraved by William Blake from designs by Stothard and Collings.		
New Novelist's Magazine	*London*,	1786–87
Literary Magazine and British Review	*London*,	1788–94
°Literary Museum; a Weekly Magazine	*Belfast*,	1793
Thespian Magazine, and Literary Repository	*London*,	1793
Comick Magazine	*London*,	1796
British Poetical Miscellany	*Huddersfield*,	1799

Magic and Conjuring.

Conjuror's Magazine	*London*,	1791–94
Magic and Conjuring Magazine	*London*,	1795

Medicine.

Medical Museum	*London*,	1781
Medical and Chirurgical Review	*London*,	1795–1806
Medical and Physical Journal	*London*,	1799–1833
London Medical Review and Magazine	*London*,	1799–1801

Music.

New Musical and Universal Magazine	*London*,	1774–75
Vocal Magazine	*London*,	1781

Navy.

Naval Chronicle	*London,*	1799–1800

Oriental.

Oriental Collections	*London,*	1797–99

Politics.

Mitre and Crown; or Great Britain's True Interest, a magazine	*London,*	1748–50
True Briton	*London,*	1751–53
Political Controversy; or Weekly Magazine of Ministerial and Antiministerial Essays	*London,*	1762–63
Freeholder's Magazine	*London,*	1769–70
Political Magazine	*London,*	1780–91
By-Stander	*London,*	1790
Political Magazine	*London,*	1794
Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner	*London,*	1797–98
Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine; or Monthly Political and Literary Censor	*London,*	1798–1821

Prints and Drawings.

Copperplate Magazine Portraits.	*London,*	1777–78
Copperplate Magazine Views.	*London,*	1792
Artists' Repository and Drawing Magazine	*London,*	1783
New Print Magazine	*London,*	1795

Religion.

Christian's Magazine	*London,*	1760–67
Religious Magazine	*Edinburgh,*	1760
Gospel Magazine, or Spiritual Library	*London,*	1766–73
Theological Repository	*London,*	1769–88
Gospel Magazine, or Treasury of Divine Knowledge	*London,*	1774–84

Arminian Magazine Continued as The Methodist Magazine, 1798, etc.	*London*,	1778–97
New Spiritual Magazine	*London*,	1783–85
Theological Miscellany	*London*,	1784–89
Philadelphian Magazine	*London*,	1788
Christian's Magazine	*London*,	1790–92
Universalist's Miscellany	*London*,	1791–1801
Christian Miscellany	*London*,	1792
Evangelical Magazine	*London*,	1793–
Gospel Magazine, and Theological Review	*London*,	1796–1805
Missionary Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1796–1813
Methodist Magazine Continuation of the Arminian Magazine.	*London*,	1798–1821
General Baptist Magazine	*London*,	1798–1800
Zion's Trumpet	*Bristol*,	1798–1801
The Aurora Swedenborgian.	*London*,	1799–1801
Edinburgh Quarterly Magazine	*Edinburgh*,	1799–1800

SCIENCE.

Journal of Natural Philosophy Incorporated with the following in 1813.	*London*,	1797–1813
Philosophical Magazine	*London*,	1798–
°The Microscope, a Monthly Magazine	*Belfast*,	1799–1800

SOCIAL, including those for Ladies and Children.

Champion: containing a series of papers humorous, moral, etc.	*London*,	1741
Court Magazine	*London*,	1761–63
Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine	*London*,	1772–73
Convivial Magazine	*London*,	1775
Matrimonial Magazine	*London*,	1775
Lottery Magazine	*London*,	1776

Carlton House Magazine	*London*,	1792–96
Sporting Magazine	*London*,	1793–1870
Juvenile Magazine	*London*,	1788
Family Magazine	*London*,	1788–89
Children's Magazine	*London*,	1799
Ladies' Magazine	*London*,	1749
Court Miscellany; or Ladies' New Magazine	*London*,	1765–69
Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex. Price 6*d*. With most elegant patterns for the tambour, etc.	*London*,	1770–1847
New Lady's Magazine With "copper plates, portraits, patterns, songs set to music, etc."	*London*,	1786–95
Fashionable Magazine	*London*,	1786
Lady's New and Elegant Pocket Magazine	*London*,	1795
Lady's Monthly Museum	*London*,	1798–1811

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PETRONIUS.[1]

By STEPHEN GASELEE.

Read 15th March, 1909.

THE title of this paper is perhaps somewhat too ambitious, for although I have been at work for some time in putting together as complete as possible a bibliography, much remains to be done, especially as regards the smaller contributions to the literature of the subject: the short titles at the end of the paper are not to be regarded as forming more than a hand-list, and I shall receive corrections and additions with the most profound gratitude. The classical scholar is given an immense amount of trouble, and that perhaps not altogether necessary, by the appearance of short articles on isolated points in a particular author as "Programs" or Doctoral Theses; and, worst of all, the article may even be hidden away in the middle of a voluminous *Festschrift*, when fifty grateful pupils show their appreciation of an old teacher by contributions on the most varied subjects. Nor have we the appropriate machinery that makes bibliography more easy in other branches of learning; nothing at all comparable to the zoologist's wonderful *Concilium Bibliographicum* nor even to the chemist's *Centralblatt;* the editor of Bursian's *Jahresbericht* does his best, but has of course to depend on the kindness of individual writers to send him their productions, and I have found many serious omissions in the course of the last few years.

(1.) The numbers in the margin refer to the short-title list at the end of the paper.

It is perhaps necessary first of all to give my reasons for having attempted a bibliography of Petronius rather than that of any better-known classical author. A French professor, M. Collignon, lately published an
342 excellent little book entitled *Pétrone en France*, in which he attempted the history of this author in French literature and thought; it was thus reviewed, to my great delight, by W. Kroll, in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift: "The work is well enough done, but it is wasted; how much better if he had devoted his labours to some *serious* author, such as Seneca." Now, is not that the exact reason why Petronius is so valuable to us? He is almost the only Latin writer who is not serious. Even the Satirists wrote with a serious object at bottom—*fecit indignatio versum*—but Petronius wrote only to please; and he is certainly the only writer of the early Empire in which real Latin thought and real Latin language are seen without the extraordinary veil of rhetoric which covered the minds and imaginations of all the poets and prose-writers of the time. Petronius has been considerably neglected, for reasons of which I will presently speak, and especially in England; it has all the more long been my desire to do something for the study of one of the few Latin writers who is not only able to give us a good and unfeigned laugh, but is also our only source for the study of Roman low life and slang, except perhaps the scribblings on the walls of Pompeii.

There can be no doubt that in the past many good scholars and many good men have looked askance at Petronius on account of his often licentious tone, and it must be admitted at once that there are very large portions which could not be read in schools. But it is only fair to say that the very best part, and the only part where the text is continuous and not more or less fragmentary, forming more than one-third of the whole book, is not open to that objection. I allude to the famous Trimalchio's Feast. With regard to the general question of the immorality of the work, I have never seen anything more in consonance with good sense than the well-known decree of the Council of Trent.[1]

(1.) Petronius is specifically mentioned amongst authors of this class in the schedule further on.

Libri, qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, aut docent . . . . omnino prohibentur: antiqui vero ab Ethnicis conscripti, propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem permittuntur: nulla tamen ratione pueris praelegendi erunt.

The arguments as to the date of the work are far too long for me to go into here. I must say, however, that I do personally consider it certain that the writer of the *Satyricon*[1] was identical with the Petronius, surnamed Arbiter Elegantiarum, of whose happy life and happy death Tacitus tells us in the sixteenth book of his Annals, though there are many scholars who are not yet certainly convinced of the identification. He wrote, I believe, purely for his own pleasure and that of his readers, not intending to use the lash of satire against anybody or anything. It is simply a novel, of which we unfortunately possess too small a portion to know the general outlines of the plot; at any rate the part which we now have describes the wanderings of three disreputable young people, genial scoundrels, entirely unfettered by any remains of morality, through the towns of southern Italy—lying, stealing, thieving, writing and hearing poetry, begging a dinner if they could get it, and going without it if they could not; and of course encountering a series of escapades and love-intrigues which can be no more than indicated without the veil of a dead language. The original novel consisted of at least sixteen books, of which we have about three; we certainly possess less than a quarter of the whole. When the rest disappeared we hardly know; but no writer after the sixth century seems to have known more than we have at present. At the time of the Renaissance, our writer existed as he does to-day, but without the "Trimalchio's Feast," and was represented by about sixteen manuscripts in different parts of Europe.

Before beginning any description of the various editions, I may perhaps mention the few attempts that have already been made in the direction of bibliographical research on the subject of this author. The Bipontine

(1.) This is a late name for the work, not found in the MSS., but very convenient.

72 edition of 1790 contains a list of 95 items; but this *Notitia Literaria* is not only very incomplete, but contains more than one entry of books that never existed. Quite lately has appeared a book that I have already
342 mentioned, M. Collignon's *Pétrone en France*, which deals solely with French editions, and the influence of Petronius on French literature generally; and the history of one single episode in the *Satyricon*, the Milesian tale of the Widow of Ephesus, is exhaustively dealt with by Eduard Griesbach in "Die Wanderung der Novelle von der treulosen
389 Wittwe durch die Weltlitteratur," 1886.[1] I may also mention a queer volume published by a physician at Lyons in 1869, Dr. Pétrequin, called
225 "Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur Pétrone," in which there is a considerable amount of good and new matter, but it is jumbled and confused in the most extraordinary manner, and the absence of an index makes it very difficult to use.

In the Editio Princeps Petronius finds himself in strange company.
1 The volume is a collection of the *Scriptores Panegyrici Latini*, and contains: (1) the Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan; (2) ten other Panegyrics of several authors upon various Emperors down to Constantius; (3) the Agricola of Tacitus; (4) *Petronii arbitri satyrici fragmenta: quae extant.* The dedicatory letter at the beginning is addressed by Franciscus Puteolanus to one Jacobus, Antiquary and Secretary to the Duke of Milan. After complimenting him on his verse, quam venustos, quam prurientes, quam dulces, quam argutos scribis quasi Catullus aut Tibullus, the editor says that he has added the other Panegyrici to the long-promised Pliny: and then "adieci: ut magnitudo uoluminis iusta ēēt: Iulii agricolae uitam per Corneliū Tacitum conscriptā: quae me ita afficit delectat tenet: ut nihil unquam pari uoluptate legerim. Fragmentū Petronii arbitri postremū locum tenet & quasi agmen claudit incuria quidē temporum mācum & adeo mutilatū ut uix cognosci possit: eiusmodi tamen ut non reiici debeat."

(1.) *See* also Augusto Cesari, *Come pervenne e rimasi in Italia la Matrona d'Efeso*, Bologna, 1890, who quotes many further instances of the wide distribution of the story, and gives references to other bibliographical literature on the subject.

This handsome volume, which is the Editio Princeps of the Agricola as well as of Petronius, was printed by Antonius Zarotus at Milan.[1] Its date is not certain, though we should not be many years out either way in putting it near 1482; there is a copy bearing the date 1476, but this seems to have been added afterwards. This belonged to Lord Spencer, and is now in the Rylands Library at Manchester; the librarian, Mr. H. Guppy, very kindly answering a query on the subject, writes: "There is little doubt that the date is spurious." The only curious part is that when unscrupulous people forge dates in early printed books, they are not generally satisfied with putting back the book for four years, but usually prefer to make it 1464, the first book printed in Italy, or a 1450 "Costerianum" from Haarlem!

The next edition is a word for word reproduction of the first, even to misprints, by the Venetian printer Bernadinus de Vitalibus, and is dated 1499[2]: again it is in mixed company, coming after the oration of Dio Chrysostom to the inhabitants of Ilium, in which *Ilii captivitatem non fuisse aperte demonstrat*, translated into Latin by Franciscus Filelfus; this part of the book was finished printing on the 18th, the Petronius on the 23rd of July of that year. Almost all bibliographers have thought this to be the Editio Princeps, in which quality it appears even so lately as Dr. Sandys' History of Classical Scholarship published last year. 2

The first edition of Petronius printed in Germany was in 1500, by Jacobus Tanner, at Leipzig. There is no copy of this book in England; but I know of one at Berlin and one at Budapesth. It is a quarto of nine leaves; on the first is "Petronius Arbiter, Poeta Satyricus." On the second "Petronii Arbitri Sathyra: in qua vitia Romanorū reprehendūtūr: incipit . . . . " At the end (leaf 9) "Finis Petronii Arbitri in Satyra integra cura et studio Hermanni Buschii Pasiphili Monasteriensis. Impressum Liptzgk per Iacobū Thanner Herbipolensem, Anno salutz nostri 1.5.00."[3] 3

(1.) Hain 13119, Proctor 5837. (2.) Hain 6185, Proctor 5533.
(3.) Hain-Copinger 12841.

It contained only the *Carmen de bello civili;* there is no trace of an edition in this year of all the extant Satirae, mentioned by all Petronian bibliographers, from the Bipontine Notitia Literaria down to Collignon in 1905. This "Poem on the Civil War" was edited by Hermann Busch of Münster, better known perhaps as a friend and ally of Ulrich von Hutten and as editor of Silius Italicus, Claudian, and the Amphitryo of Plautus. Thirty years later he was the first classical professor at Marburg.

The *Carmen de bello siuili* proved so popular that Tanner reprinted
4 it in 1508: and the next country to produce an edition was Austria, again of the *Carmen* only, and probably taken from the German copy,
5 being printed by J. Singrenius at Vienna in 1517. The title runs: Petronii Arbitri poetae insignis atq; praeclari Satyra non minus festiua & elegans, q̃ studiosae juuentuti frugifera ac utilis nuper exactissime in lucem edita. France first produced an edition in 1520; it was only a reproduction of
6 the Italian XV century editions, and was printed by Regnault-Chaudière, in the Rue Saint-Jacques, at the sign of the Homme Sauvage; and then, after more than forty years, comes the first important attempt to improve
7 the text. In 1564 Iohannes Sambucus, a learned Hungarian, finding the Paris edition most unsatisfactory—*cum nulla linea sine mendis, aut aliquo defectu legeretur*—made use of an old MS. of his own, together with some manuscript notes made by the Dutch physician Adrien le Jeune in 1562, and those of a friend of his, Pulman by name, to produce a more correct edition; and besides greatly improving the text, he added a considerable amount not previously printed.

9 Ten years later appeared another important critical edition, that of Jean de Tournes at Lyons. He combined the functions of editor and printer, and performed them both admirably. Quite in the style of a modern editor, he collated six different authorities:

(1) Vetustissimum in mẽbranis descriptum a clarissimo viro, cui nos, et quotquot Musas, Musarumve filios et alumnos in honore habẽt, tantum debemus quantum vix dici potest. This *clarissimus vir*, according to the later Lyons printer, Frellon, was the great collector Cujas; we know

something of the MS. belonging to Cujas, because it was afterwards used by Scaliger, and the internal evidence of the text of this edition makes it probable that the statement is correct.

(2) Alterum fuit hominis doctissimi et amicitia mihi coniunctissimi: [on the same authority, Dalechamps, Professor of the College of Medicine at Lyons]. This MS. was used as the foundation of the text, and the variants from the other authorities are added in the margin.

(3) Sambucus' printed edition.

(4) The 1520 Paris edition.

(5) and (6) Two collections of fragments.

For the short poetical pieces of the Petronian Catalecta he used the collections of Scaliger and Stephanus, and all through was indefatigable in adding conjectures of various scholars and editors. At the end he gave a short collation of variants from the Cujacian MS.

We now come to P. Pithou's edition, printed by Pattison, at Paris, the last of real importance before the discovery of the "Trimalchio's Feast." There have been several errors concerning this on the part of some from whom we might have expected more care; both Burmann and Buecheler have gone wrong upon the point, the former asserting that Pithou's first edition appeared in 1585, though he admits that "alii primam Patissoniam ad annum 1577 referunt." There are copiés of the book in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum; the edition of 1587, also printed by Patisson, is a second edition, both enlarged as to Petronius and containing various Catalecta, including the whole of the Priapea. To complete his edition Pithou used three MSS. now unfortunately lost; one that formerly belonged to Jean, Duke of Berry; another from Toulouse, and a third from a Benedictine monastery of uncertain position. Pithou, from scruples as to the moral character of the work, held it back for some time; the ingenious printer apparently borrowed his manuscript, and sent him back Petronius in print with an amusing and half apologetic preface; he begins: Remitto ad te Petronium tuum, immo nostrum, immo iam omnium, adjeci etiam, ut iracundia tua ingratissimo isto cumulo expleri possit, notulas tuas.

"Perfide" inquies . . . . . He proceeds to show that other authors to whom exception might be taken, such as Anacreon, Catullus, and Martial are read without harm, and ends: Mihi quidem certe castrare non libuit, ne quod imperitis istis sectoribus et mangonibus accidit, simul et evirarem et occiderem. Bene vale, atque irasci tandem tandem desine.

361 Two years later than Pithou's first edition, Claude Binet published at Poitiers a collection of the verse fragments of Petronius, with a considerable number of other poems of the same type; this, with the above-mentioned Catalecta of Scaliger and Stephanus, has been the source of the collection of fragments we now possess, and as to the question of how many of them can with justice be ascribed to our author, adhuc sub judice lis est[1].

160, 11 In 1583 Ian Dousa (Jan van der Does), of Noordwyck, published at Leyden his interesting and scholarly *Praecidanea*, which he added to an edition of Petronius in 1585; the printer in both cases was Iohannes Paetsius. These *Praecidanea* must quickly have been known and
12 appreciated, as they were included in Gul. Linocerius' edition at Paris in 1585.
14, 13 Two years later there were second and enlarged editions both of this and, as I have mentioned above, of Patisson's; and then they succeed one another with greater rapidity; the Plantin press produced three, in 1594, 1596, and
5, 16, 21 1604, edited by Ioannes à Wouweren, and dedicated by him, in the case of the two latter, to Joseph Scaliger. The opportunity may here be taken of correcting Collignon,[2] who gives 1596 as the first Plantin edition, ignoring
15, 24 the little 16mo of 1594, which was re-issued in 1614. Wouweren did not particularly improve the text or exegesis of our author.

1601 saw four editions published in Paris, though they differ only as to
17 the title-page: one was published by Christopher Beys, in the Via Jacobea,
19, 18 the second by the widow of Guil. Chaudière, in the same street, the third by Etienne Vallet at the "Golden Bible" near the College of Rheims, the
20 fourth apud P. L. Febvrier, via Septem viarum prope D. Hilarium. All

(1) *Cf.* No. 273. (2) *Op. cit.* (No. 342) p. 29.

these are reprints of Wouweren's Antwerp edition, and as they correspond with each other word for word, and are in fact the same book, printed from the same type, I suppose that there was an arrangement to share it between the four publishers. Possibly the widow Chaudière had some claim because of the 1520 edition, published by another Chaudière eighty years before in the same house—she still kept the sign of the "Homme Sauvage," but added to it a representation of Time with his scythe. 6

Pétrequin[1] takes great credit to himself for discovering that the Lyons printer Frellon first produced a Petronius in 1608, and roundly abuses Burmann for saying that he "iterated" Goldastus' edition of 1610. But it is not so far from the truth, because the 1608 volume is only the same old work of Wouweren, which had been reprinted ever since 1596, and when Frellon's second edition did appear in 1615 it contained nothing original, and was in fact a composition of the work of Wouweren and Goldastus. The former, which appeared at Frankfort (Helenopolis) in 1610, was by far the most bulky edition of Petronius that had yet appeared; it contained the text, and notes of more than twenty commentators, named and anonymous, the most elaborate being those of "Georgius Erhardus," which was a pseudonym adopted by Goldastus himself. This was repeated at Lyons by Frellon in 1615, and again in 1618, and by Wechel at Frankfort in 1621. 22 25 23 25, 27, 2

Meanwhile Jean Bourdelot, a lawyer, published his edition at Paris, in 1618 (Isaac Mesnier), and made a show of great originality. Emendavit, he says of himself, supplevit, Commentarium perpetuum adiecit. He was unfortunately one of that tribe of commentators that prate of old MSS. in their possession, and ascribe to the unoffending membranes the vapourings of their own brains. He also put in floating epigrams from other authors when they seemed to fit the sense. He inserted one on p. 69 of his edition, naively adding that it was attributed either to Cicero or to his brother Quintus. Why Pétrequin (p. 63) says of Bourdelot, that his "notes Savantes fixèrent l'attention des érudits," I cannot tell; they are certainly 26

(1) *Op. cit.* (No. 225) p. 62.

nearly worthless; Burmann's judgment (p. 527) was better: Non habeo fidem Bourdelotio, qui audacissimo saepe locos sanos tentat, et nescio quos
38 Codices crepat. The book, though almost useless, was reprinted in 1645.

29 The now familiar Wouweren edition was reprinted at Leyden, in 1623,
30 by Ioannes Maire, and at Amsterdam in 1624; where in 1626 it appeared
32 again in a pocket edition—24mo, printed by Guil. I. Caesius (whom Collignon calls, by a misprint I suppose, Caestus). This was reprinted in
36 exactly the same form by Jo. Janssonius in 1634; but before that we have to stop at a great year for editions of Petronius, 1629.

The three editions of this year, weighing nine pounds and six ounces avoirdupois, and containing two thousand, eight hundred and fifty quarto pages, were the work of three different nationalities: a Swiss, a Spaniard, and a German. The Swiss did not put his name on the title-page, but
33 signed the preface: Lotichius quotes him as "Theodorus de Iuges K. Genevensis in Praefat. ad Petronii Satyricon in capita ab se dissectum." This was, in fact, the chief and only service that de Juges did to Petronius: he cut up the text into the chapters that we now use, though of course his numbering now differs from ours after chapter 26, where the Traguriensian fragment was inserted.

34 We then have the edition of D. Iosephus Antonius Gonsalius de Salas, which besides the notes of the Editor contain the *Symbola critica* of Scioppius. There are several good suggestions in the *Symbola*, and Scioppius does not show his usual violence and irritability against other scholars. De Salas' edition has nothing else to recommend it; in fact he inserted into the text some insipid completions of sentences, which he says he obtained from a Paris edition of 1595; but nobody has ever seen or
37 heard of such an edition. De Salas' volume was reprinted without change in 1643.

On the third edition produced in this year we must dwell a little longer,
35 as it is in some respects one of the most remarkable editions of any classical work ever published; it would probably gain the laurel as the worst

commentary ever affixed to any author. The book consists of (1) Dedicatory epistle to the Academy of Schaumburg, (2) Portrait of the editor, with the inscription *Io. Petrus Lotichius, Medicus et Poeta, Nascitur MDXCVIII, VIIJ Martij*, and accompanied by verses laudatory of himself:—

> Haecce tabella duos praefert simul Orbe celebres
> LOTICHIOS, quorum par fuit artis honos.
> Nam pariter medica et melica LAVRV ambo triumphant;
> Vnum si noris, notus uterque tibi.

There is then (3) a Preface to the Reader, (4) a Life of Petronius and (5) eleven verse epigrams to Lotichius on his work. Anagrams seem to have been in fashion: such as *Joannes-Petrus Lotichius.=Hic in usu inter Poetas Sol; Petrus Lotichius Solotariensis Medicinæ Doctor.=Hic lotus Arte in Medica: Doctus inter ipsos olores.* (6) Six prose extracts from letters to the editor regarding the progress of his work, and (7) 99 pages of the Satyricon and the various fragments attributed to Petronius. Then, after a new title-page, we arrive at (8) three books of *excursus medico-philosophi* on the Satiræ, occupying 422 pages. He seems to have been encouraged to write these by Melchior Goldastus, who meant him, however, to expend his classical zeal on studying the works of the ancient medical writers, and was in despair when Lotichius sent him the result of his labours with a grandiose epistle. We have a letter of Goldastus to Caspar Hofmann. "Mitto tibi Lotichii commenta in Petronium cum aliorum notis . . . . . volebam hominem amicum hac occasione ad lectionem veterum medicorum deducere, sed judicio destitutus nec in bonis auctoribus versatus, nobis undequaque compilavit quae ad grandiendum librum convasare ex Cornucopia Calepini, Textoris Officina, Erasmi Chiliadibus, et consimilibus scriptoribus poterat, ut tandem monstrosum, horrendum, et insanum magnum istud commentum pareret." In each of the three books of the *Excursus* there are about twenty chapters: I set down the bare headings of one from each book.

I. 14.—Glires adeo in deliciis veterum fuerunt, ut in censoriis legibus eorum usus, tamquam voluptuarius, fuerit interdictus. Dicuntur

autem a gliscendo, id est pinguescendo. Hinc gliscerae mensae. Glirium pietas in parentes senectute confectos. Saginantur potissimum glandibus, itemque castaneis . . . . etc. etc.

II. 3.—The definition, causes, origin and cure of sea-sickness.

III. 4.—Why a square tower, when viewed from afar off, appears round.

After elaborate indexes, we then come to (9) the *notae universales et perpetuae*, occupying 440 pages: almost useless, and not ill described by Buecheler as "cujus interpretatio est παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορὸν ἀλλ' ἐλεεινόν." Worse still, there is much more of it that no one yet has had the courage to print: in 1730 Zacharias Conrad von Offenbach possessed in his library[1] "Commentarium amplissimum J. P. Lotichii in Petronium Arbitrum, ab auctore sedulo emendatum et duplo (!) auctiorem redditum, opus autographum in quatuor spissis voluminibus." After the notes comes the only really useful part of the book, a collection of the work of twenty-one former commentators, some previously unpublished; these are perhaps now more
66, 69 accessible as reprinted in Burmann's great variorum editions, but it was something to have brought them together for the first time. This remarkable volume ends with more *Testimonia* from modern authors and an elaborate index—in all rather a pathetic monument of human industry and folly.

But we must leave this year of prodigies, and proceed, after some
39 second editions mentioned above, to an anonymous editor at Leyden in 1645, under the initials D[i] S. S. Our ignorance of his identity is small loss; he gives Bourdelot's notes and adds a Glossarium Petronianum, in which, however, everything one could really want to know is marked with
40 an asterisk, which means "Inexplicable"; then, in 1654, an edition at Utrecht by Simon Abbes Gabbema, of no particular value, and lastly this
41 was re-edited in 1663 at Amsterdam by "Rutgerus Hermannides," presumably a pseudonym.

We have now arrived at the time of the discovery of the Traguriensian fragment, and it is time to look back and see what has been the influence

(1) Catalogue, vol. ii, § 5, p. 458.

of Petronius upon general literature from the time when the invention of printing began to bring the middle ages to an end down to this discovery which was of course the most important event in the history of our author.

That amiable pagan, Pomponius Laetus, quotes a passage in his commentary on the *Ciris:* and the Satirae are also known to other early scholars such as John Baptist Pius[1] and Beroald[2]; soon after them we find mentions in Janus Parrhasius,[3] Petrus Crinitus,[4] Domitius Brusonius,[5] and Raphael Maffeius Volaterranus.[6]

The great scholar Adrian Turnebus admired the literary style of the Satirae as much as he reprobated the immorality of their contents. Petronius Arbiter, says he,[7] *venustatem orationis suae inquinavit spurcissimis amoribus*: and he speaks of an edition[8] *quem domi sub sera et claustro* [*Memmius*] *habet, ne quem foris obscaenus et lascivus scriptor impura sua petulantia contaminet.* He speaks also of the corrupt state of the text[9]: *versus sane quam amoeni et elegantes extant Petronii de ciconia: sed, quod inter nos dicere liceat, coralistria,*[10] *in eis quid sibi velit, nullo modo assequor;* and,[11] *expurgare mendas Petronii, id esset omnes littoris algas legere, omniaque maris ejectamenta.*

(1) Commentary on Fulgentius, 1498.

(2) Commentary on Cicero's Tusculan Questions, c. 1500.

(3) Commentary on Claudian, c. 1530.

(4) De Honesta Disciplina, 1532, *Legebamus nuper Venetiis ego et Ioannes Venetus Petronii Arbitri Satyricon, opus contra declamatores.* He also gives the account of the malleable glass from Pliny and John of Salisbury, and thus, indirectly from Petronius.

(5) In his fourth book of *Res Memorabiles*, 1559.

(6) This author, in his eighteenth book of *Commentarii Urbani* says that some verses of Petronius on medicine have come down to us. Presumably he refers to the quotation in the Etymologicum Magnum s.v. σκύτος—σκύτος δὲ λέγεται πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τενόντων τοῦ τραχήλου δέρμα, ὡς Πετρώνιός φησι. A physician named Petronius is mentioned by Galen and others.

(7) *Adversaria*, 19_6.

(8) *Advers.*, 2_{20}. (9) *Ibid.*, 8_{18}.

(10) This reading must be a mere mistake (the correct word is *crotalistria*); it does not seem to be in any manuscript or printed edition.

(11) *Ibid.*, 26_5.

Of Joseph Scaliger's admiration for our author, it is unnecessary to speak at length, as it is sufficiently shown by the existence of Manuscript L, copied under his directions from the Codex Cujacianus; he also writes to Pierre Pithou about the Catalecta, or short poems attributed to Petronius, and of course mentions him in his commentary on the Priapea.

We now come to Justus Lipsius, whose modesty in refusing to edit Petronius has been a great loss to the study of the Classics. In his commentary on Tacitus (Annals XVI), he invented a famous phrase:—[*C. Petronius*] *quem viri docti eum censent, cujus fragmenta hodie purissimae impuritatis. De quo etiam delibero, sicut et de praenomine.* In book 3 of his *Antiquae Lectiones* he speaks of *Petronii amoenissimae Satyrae,* and in book 2 (Ch. 8) *Petronii Arbitri fragmenta pauca habemus, scriptoris tersi et venusti, et, nisi in re illa voluptatum nimis Latine interdum loquatur, caetera laudati.* He saw the great improvements to the text introduced by Pithou's edition:—(Epist. quaest. 5_{19}) *immensum tibi, Pithoee, Petronius debet;* and, in a well-known passage (Ep. quaest. 3_2) . . . *scriptores amoeniores. Quo in numero Petronium repono, quicquid dicant isti frontis severae. Et tua fide, P. Pithoee, vidistin' quidquam venustius, argutius, post natas Musas? Non ego: abesset tantum nuda illa nequitia: qua tamen nihil offendor: joci me delectant, urbanitas capit: caetera nec in animo, nec in moribus meis magis labem relinquunt, quam olim in flumine vestigium cymba. Ut vina apposita vinosum movent, invinium, ut antiqui loquebantur, non movent: sic ista animum jam ante improbum fortasse incient: casto et castigato non adhaerent.*

Lipsius also wrote a pleasant little ode as a kind of preface to the *Praecidanea* of the elder Dousa: it expresses admirably in verse the same sentiments as these varied passages from his prose works:

Ad Juventutem

En Petronius, Arbiter Leporum,
Et salsus pater, et salax jocorum:
Quos novit Latium, vetusque Roma,
Paedore obsitus impolitiaque
Dudum, nunc melior politiorque

In novam properat venire lucem.
Non quidem magica recoctus arte,
Sed DOUSAE medica recoctus arte.
DOUSAE, qui veterum arbiter leporum est,
DOUSAE, qui pater elegantiarum est,
At tu nostra fave et cave Juventus.
Merum mel latet hic, latet venenum,
Probis mel merum, at improbis venenum.

As this peculiarly happy epigram is addressed to Dousa, it does not surprise us to find a purely Petronian phrase in a remark made to Dousa in the same scholar's *Satyra Menippea*,[1] *Somnium:* p. 71 of the Leyden 1620 edition:—*trepide ad Duzam, Tange me, frater, inquam, Frigidior nive Gallica sum;* (*Cf.* Petr. 19_3 *ego autem frigidior hieme Gallica factus*). On p. 73 of the same work he says:—*vervecem vides, non hominem; oviculam meram;* which is a use of that expression which occurs so constantly in the Satyrae—*piper, non homo: fantasia, non homo: codex, non mulier.* In 1606 was published a somewhat violent attack on J. Lipsius by George Thomson of St. Andrews, in which the great critic's scholarship and piety are both arraigned; in it (Ch. 2) we find:—*Sanctissimi viri opusculum pietate refertum forte habebat in pera Episcopus, Petronii Satyricon: quo educto, et aperto obtulit se hemistichium, Placitone etiam pugnabis amori.* At about the same time Conrad Rittershusius also speaks of the mutilated condition of the text in his notes on Phaedrus:—*Eadem caussa . . . . Petronii Arbitri elegantissimum Satyricon ita nobis laceravit ac detruncavit, ut vix Orpheum mulieres Thraciae, vel Pentheum Bacchae discerpserint miserabilius.* In Isaac Casaubon, too, we have only a mention (*de Satyra* 2_2):—*Petronius Arbiter cur opusculum suum, quo Neronis et aliorum Procerum flagitia horrenda non minore flagitio publicavit, Satyricon potius quam Satyram inscribere maluerit,*[2] *frustra fortasse quaesierimus: neque est tanti.* In Chapter 4 of the same work he seems to acknowledge

(1) About the same time as this another *Satyra Menippea* was published at Leyden, by Nicolaus Rigaltius; on p. 22 we find:—*propter festivitatis vernulae elegantiam*, and on p. 30 *verbaque jam madidus quae scripsit vernula vates.* The former of these is certainly, the second possibly, derived from Ch. 24, *urbanitatis vernaculae fontem*, the reading of the MS. being *vernulae.*

(2) He did not, as a fact.

that the name Satyricon may have been ascribed to the book by some who thought the word *Satire* to have been of Greek origin.[1]

Petronius meanwhile had been very little known in England. A writer in the *Westminster Gazette* of 20th February, 1909, noticing a performance of Ben Jonson's *Epicoene* given at Cambridge, calls the song "Still to be neat . . . . " a translation of "one of the Priapea, by Petronius." But it is only a loose imitation of the poem sometimes (quite without grounds) attributed to Petronius, beginning "Parce precor virgo toties mihi culta videri." One of Archbishop Parker's books, bequeathed to the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains the little poem "Quisquis habet nummos . . . . " (from ch. 137) with Petronius' name, in a contemporary hand, but it is not the Archbishop's. There is a negative indication of any considerable knowledge of the *Satyricon*—dangerous, of course, as all such negative inferences are—in the fact that there is a complete absence of any allusion or imitation in Nash's *Unfortunate Traveller* in 1594, for Jacke Wilton is precisely of the type of the heroes of the *Satyricon*, and might have been expected to have imitated some of their exploits if Nash had known of them. Sir Thomas Dempster, though a Scotsman, who was writing just after 1600, lived so much abroad that his mention can hardly be claimed as an indication of any knowledge of our author in his native country; he calls him "candidus, tergus, suavis, in omnibus mirandus, modo absit obscenitas." There is, however, in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth a manuscript, written at the very end of the sixteenth or the very beginning of the seventeenth century: it is a copy of Pithou's Paris printed edition, and certainly written in England, and this fact alone seems to show that the printed editions must have been rare in this country. We find, however, a very great admirer in Robert Burton; the *Anatomy of Melancholy* contains a very large number of citations, and the date of its publication (1621) may fairly be put down as the beginning of any serious appreciation of Petronius in England.

(1) The British Museum possesses Isaac Casaubon's copy of the Paris 1585 edition (No. 12). The MS. notes are not important; and the only two emendations are in a poem of the Catalecta apocryphally ascribed to Petronius.

I do not propose to give the quotations at full length, not only because of the space which would be thus occupied, but because I hope that some day, on the publication of Mr. Aldis Wright's edition, the references will be more complete than anything I could accomplish. Some have probably escaped my notice; but I have observed in the *Anatomy* thirty-two citations, as well as twelve more of poems in the *Catalecta*, which used to be considered the genuine work of Petronius and were always published under his name. They cover the whole ground of the *Satyricon* as then known, and show an intimate knowledge of the work. We can even tell what edition Burton used; when he quotes the opening words of Ch. 126: "quo enim spectant flexae pectine comae . . . .," he puts a note saying "Petronius fol. 95",[1] and this sentence only comes on p. 95 of the Paris 1601 edition, so that we may assume that that was the form in which Burton read our author. Milton, too, is a curious name to find in connection with Petronius; perhaps the quotation is due to one of the collaborators in the Cambridge Memorial to Edward King in which "Lycidas" first appeared. The title-page of the collection is: Justa Edouardo King naufrago ab Amicis moerentibus amoris et ὠνείας χάριν. Si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est. Petron. Arb.[2] CANTABRIGIAE.

Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica" about 1640, mentions Petronius more than once:

Pseudodoxia I. 5.—The story of the malleable glass quoted from Petronius.

IV. 4.—As Hero in Petronius wears a ring upon the little finger. (Ch. 32_3 *habebat enim in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum*).

IV. 9.—There is a mention of the occasion when Giton betrays his presence under the bed by a sneeze (Ch. 98).

(1) On *sordibus calent* in the same chapter the note says "Petronius fol. 5"—this is merely a misprint for fol. 95.

(2) This is from ch. 115_{17}, with *bene* for *recte*.

The Annotator on Sir Thomas Browne (c. 1646) was also a reader of our author; he puts on his title-page *Nec satis est vulgasse fidem. Pet. Arb. fragmt.*; and quotes him twice in the course of his notes.

Part I. §18. So Petronius Arbiter, amor ingeni neminem unquam divitem fecit (Ch. 83_9).

Part II. §7. Nor Petronius nor Martial can relieve us [in finding a name for a particular crime—that mentioned by Herodotus in his second book as peculiar to the Egyptian embalmers].

Eleven years later than the first edition of the *Anatomy* appeared a play
363 entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, which, its title-page tells us, was "often Acted with great applause by the high and mighty Prince Charles his Servants, at the private house in *Salisbury* Court." It is a small quarto of 44 leaves, the work of Shackerley Marmion; it contains a list of the actors who took the various parts immediately after the preliminary epistle to the reader. There is a very satisfactory account of Marmion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, from the pen of Mr. Sidney Lee, and it is not necessary to say more than that this was his first play and rather a poor one. Two plots, almost perfectly distinct, are pursued in alternate scenes, and the subject of the main plot is somewhat unsavoury; it is really only of interest as dealing with an actual occurrence at that time, which gives a curious picture of the social life before the Rebellion. A certain Mrs. Holland, a woman of the worst reputation, collected others of her kind and set up a disreputable house in Blackfriars: when the town authorities wished to interfere, she put her house in a state of siege, which was all the easier as it was surrounded by a moat, and defied the attack for some months; we have a full account of her and her proceedings in an anonymous pamphlet published the same year, bearing the same title as the play, with which, however, it has no other connexion. There is a frontispiece representing a house and garden surrounded by a wide moat, with a drawbridge, and tenanted by various pairs of lovers; over the picture is Vergil's famous line, *Noctes atque dies patet atri Janua Ditis*, and beneath it these verses:

Vnto this Island and great Plutoes *Court,*
none are deny'd that willingly resort,
Charon *or'e* Phlegeton *will set on shoare,*
and Cerberus *will guard you to the doore:*
Where dainty Deuils drest in humane shape,
upon your senses soone will make a rape.
They that come freely to this house of sinne,
in Hell as freely may have entrance in.

The pamphlet itself need not detain us: it contains an account of the stormy life and exploits of Mrs. Holland, and ends with a denunciation of her latest action, and an account of her punishment.

There is also a ballad in the Pepysian collection (Vol I, p. 98) dealing with the same place: I do not think that Pepys realised to what it referred, for he placed it among the class dealing with foreign wars and battles; and the two rude cuts, one of a man firing a cannon and the other a beleaguered city, may have helped to make him think that *Holland's Leaguer* was an actual historical event. The ballad runs:

NEWES FROM *HOLLANDS* LEAGER:
OR,
HOLLANDS LEAGER IS LATELY UP BROKEN,
THIS FOR A CERTAINE IS SPOKEN.

To the tune of, *Canons are roaring.*

You that desire newes,
list to my story;
Some it will make to muse
some will be sorry,
Some will reioyce thereat,
others will wonder,
To see the barke and tree
parted asunder.
This of a certaine
for truth it is spoken,
That Hollands Leager,
up lately is broken.

Such Ensignes were displaid
to amaze *Holland,*
The like hath seldom been,
I thinke in no land.
From many parts there hath
gallants resorted;
Because the fame thereof
they heard reported:
Yet some their labour lost,
for it is spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

The flaunting *Spaniard,*
and boone Cauillera,
The bragging *Dutchman*
thought cost him deare a:
Wallouns and *Switzer,*
both *Iewes, Turke* and *Neager*
Scots, Danes and *French,*
haue been at *Hollands* Leager.
Yet all would not auaile,
for it is spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

Though many sought to
inuade the strong Iland,
And stratagems deuised
by sea and by land,
Rumors were spred abroad,
fames Trumpet sounding,
Their Sconce so firmely stood,
they fear'd no wounding:
But yet for all their pompe,
thus it is spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

The great god *Iupiter*
did well affect her:
And *Mars* the god of warre,
did so protect her,
His martiall discipline
made her so valiant,
She durst in battell ioyne
with any Gallant:
Yet though she valour had,
thus it is spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

Belloniaes blasting shot,
they neuer feared,
But brauely face to face
the Champions dared:
She seldome tooke the foyle
by friend or stranger,
Unlesse a backe recoyle
put her in danger,
But yet for all their pomp,
thus it is spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

Blow for blow, shot for shot,
still they returned,
But sliding Cowards
she euer disdained:
If any younker
the Island doe venter,
Without admittance
no partie could enter.
But tho they were so stout
thus it is spoken,
That Hollands Leager
is lately up broken.

The draw-bridge being
up taken they durst to,
Stand to push of pike
and giue a thrust too:
Those that gaue onset
sometimes got th' worst ont,
And at their parting
most dearly haue curst ont.
But however it is spoken
that Hollands Leager
Vp lately is broken.

The second part. To the same Tune.

BUlwarkes and batteries
and other fences
Daily mainteined
the Iland expences:
Store of mun[i]tion,
and all things at pleasure,
Fit for this company
gold and rich treasure
They had at her command
yet it is, &c.

Now since the Leager broke
and they are excluded
The chiefe Commander
by fate is subdued,
Those that did them assault
thought it small purchase,
The *Lion* scornes to prey
on a dead carkas.
This we heare certainly
by many spoken,
That Hollands, &c.

All those that vsed to
frequent this border
Are backe retired for
there's a new order:

That none shall thither come
to worke a violence,
Great and small, high and low,
all must keepe silence,
For it is by many spoken,
that Hollands, &c.

Yet younster arme your selues,
here comes new tidings
Although the Campe be broke,
for their abidings,
They haue a refuge found,
that can defend them,
Drummes, pikes and musketers
doth there attend them
Then brauely march along
gallants in clusters,
Arrive at Bewdley,
where they keep their musters.

There frontgarded is
with such strong forces
Only they left behind
some certaine Horses,
Yet for a triue
they will not be daunted,
When once their Colors

o' th' wall is aduanced.
Feare to march away,
gallants in clusters,
To Bewdly heigh, where
they keep their musters.

Now if my newes in
this song may content you,
Buy it and try it
and neuer repent you,

For your recreation
in loue I haue pend it:
Trusting no creature I
haue here offended,
With telling of the newes
which I heard spoken,
That Hollands Leager
is lately up broken.(1)

FINIS. L.P.

London, printed for I. W.

This, then, was the main subject of Marmion's play, and it was for him, as a true disciple of his benefactor and patron, Ben Jonson, to dress it up in all the trappings of the classics; and for this purpose he drew almost entirely upon Petronius. Among the *Dramatis Personæ* occur the names of Trimalchio, Triphœna and Quartilla, though their characters have nothing in common with the originals of the *Satyricon*: Trimalchio is described as "a humorous gallant," Triphœna is wife to Philautus "a Lord inamor'd of himselfe," and Quartilla is gentlewoman to Triphœna.

In the course of the play the following allusions and references to the *Satyricon* are to be found:

Act I, Scene 1.

SNARLE.
And then he comes forth so bath'd in perfumes,
Had you no sense to guide you, but your nose,
You'd thinke him a Muske-cat, he smels as ranke,
As th' extreame unction of two funerals.
FIDELIO.
My sence will nere be able to endure him.
SNARLE.
Such men as smell so, I suspect their savour.

St. Jerome, Letter to Demetriades, CXXX, 19.

. . . . cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos et peregrini muris olentes pelliculas, de quibus illud Arbiter est

"non bene olet qui bene semper olet"(2)

quasi quasdam pestes et venena pudicitiae virgo devitet.

(1) The body of the ballad is printed in black-letter, and the refrains, etc., printed in roman are here represented by italics.

(2) It is true that this line also occurs in Martial II, 12, which is admirably translated by R. Fletcher (1656):

What's this that myrrh doth still smel in thy kisse's
And that with thee no other odour is?
Tis doubt (my *Posthumus*) he that doth smel
So sweetly alwayes, smels not very well.

But as the line was printed as a fragment of Petronius in many of the early editions, it seems probable that Marmion knew it in that connexion. *Cf. Sat.* ch. 21: "qui inter haec nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere, qui in culina habitant." Did W. Horman of Eton, whose *Vulgaria* was printed by Pynson in 1519, know the passage from St. Jerome? One of his sentences is: "They be nat well disposed in lyfe: that occupy such odors and oyntements—Non sunt compositae vitae qui exoticis unguentis utuntur."

Act II, Scene 4.

QUARTILLA.

This chastity
Is quite out of date, a meere obsolete thing,
Cleane out of use, since I was first a Mayd,
Why doe I say a Maid? let *Iuno* plague me,
If I remember it, for I began
Betimes, and so progrest from lesse to bigger,
From boyes to Lads, and as I grew in yeares,
I writ my Venery in a larger volume.

Ch. 25₄.

Junonem meam iratam habeam, si unquam me meminerim virginem fuisse. Nam et infans cum paribus inclinata sum, et subinde procedentibus annis majoribus me pueris applicui, donec ad hanc aetatem perveni.

Act III, Scene 4.

PHILAUTUS.

Wherefore are all your sleekings, and your curlings,
Crispings, and baintings, and your skinne made soft,
And your face smooth with ointments, then your gate,
Confin'd to measure, and compos'd by art,
Besides the wanton petulancy of your eyes,
That scatter flames with doubtfull motion,
Vnlesse it were to prostitute your beauty?

Ch. 126₂.

Quo enim spectant flexae pectine comae, quo facies medicamine attrita et oculorum quoque mollis petulantia, quo incessus scite compositus et ne vestigia quidem pedum extra mensuram aberrantia, nisi quod formam prostituis?

Act IV, Scene 2.

BAWD.

Ile make them know,
This is no widdowes house, but *Marcus Manitius*,
Is Lord of the Iland.

Ch. 95₃.

Jam enim faxo sciatis non viduae hanc insulam esse sed M. Mannicii.

Act IV, Scene 3.

MISCELLANIO.

I can not find I am a man, that part
Is dead, wherein I once was an *Achilles:*

Ch. 129₁.

Crede mihi, frater, non intellego me virum esse, non sentio. Funerata est illa pars corporis, qua quondam Achilles eram.

Act IV, Scene 4.

MISCELLANEO.

They have made me of another religion,
I must turne Iew, I thinke, and bee circumcised.

Ch. 102₁₄.

"Quidni" inquit Giton "Etiam circumcide nos, ut Judaei videamur."

Ibidem.

TRIMALCHIO.

Good sir, say no more.
I am a traytor, I haue kild a man,
Committed sacriledge. Let her seeke reuenge
For these, or if lesse punishment will serue:
To haue me beaten, Ile runne naked to her.

Ch. 130₂.

Habes confitentem reum: quicquid jusseris, merui. Proditionem feci, hominem occidi, templum violavi: in haec facinora quaere supplicium: sive occidere placet, ferro meo venio: sive verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad dominam.

Act V, Scene 2.

MILLESCENT.

What riddles haue we heere? that I should loue you?
I would not haue you thinke so wel of your selfe.

Ch. 126₈.

"Rogo" inquam "numquid illa, quae me amat, tu es?" Multum risit ancilla .... et "nolo" inquit "tibi tam valde placeas."

It is also possible that the expression in Act IV, Scene 2, *Tam Marti quam Veneri*, may be a reminiscence of the pretty couplet in the Petronian Catalecta:

Militis in galea nidum fecere columbae:
apparet, Marti quam sit amica Venus:

but I have avoided citing a few more passages which might equally well be derived from more familiar places in Martial and Juvenal. No very high estimate can be made, either of the play itself or of the manner in which use is made of the Satyricon in it. The action—or rather the two actions—are dull and involved, and the somewhat licentious tone is unredeemed by wit. For Marmion's best work we have to wait another four years, for his charming but little-known poem on Cupid and Psyche.

Shortly before the new discovery of the *Cena* we find a single incident of the Satirae used for a moralising purpose. Walter Charleton, M.D., 364
otherwise known as the author of a book on Stone-Henge, published in 1659 *The Ephesian Matron*, which re-appeared in a volume with the additional tale of the Cimmerian Matron, in 1668, with the sub-title, *Two remarkable Examples of the power of Love and Wit.* The volume is not very exciting, being an elaborated and lengthened translation of the story, and a disquisition upon it and upon the subject of Love generally.[1] A little more than

(1) The most interesting part is the preface, in which Charleton mentions the wide and early distribution of the tale.

366 ten years later we shall find this work used as a basis for a Latin essay on Love by Bartholomew Harris. In the same year we find the curious inclusion of the "Matron of Ephesus" in Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*—it forms part of a chapter "On the care of the dead!"

The earliest translation of any part of the Satirae into English, with the exception of the isolated passages in Burton, is to be found in Fanshawe's
362 well-known rendering of Camoens, published in 1655. Immediately after the dedication to the Earl of Strafford comes the *Furor Petroniensis, Petronius his Rapture*, being a text and translation of Ch. 118 and the poem on the Civil War. As he heads the translation "Out of the Satyr of Petronius Arbiter, p. 48," he seems to have made use of the little Amsterdam edition of 1626. The translation of the poem is vigorous and good, but no fair impression would be gained by quoting an isolated passage. This is the prose translation of Ch. 118, which has something of the style of the Tudor translators :—

Young men, young men (said Eumolpus) this same thing called Poetry hath deceived many: for if a man have but set a Verse upon its feet, and swathed his weaker matter with a winding about of words, he thinks himself presently over head and eares in Helicon. Therefore, those who have got the practice of pleading or declaiming in publike, have frequently fled to the tranquility of versifying, as to a gentler port: believing it easier to compile a Poem, than an Argument embellish'd with little sparkling sentences. But neither doth a more generous spirit affect a tympany, nor a mind conceive, or can be delivered of this birth, that overflows not with a mighty torrent of learning. There must be a flying all cheapness (as I may say) of words, and such language cull'd out as is above the common people. This is to hate the lay vulgar, and to make them know their distance. Moreover there must be a Care that the Sentences do not hang out like tassels from the body of the matter, but shine woven thereinto like gold into a silken-garment; witness HOMER, and the Lyricks, and Roman VIRGIL, and HORACE his curious foelicity. For others either saw not the way of Poetry, or (seeing) feared to tread it. Behold a great Task,

THE CIVIL WAR! Whoever will touch that burthen (unless abounding with letters) shall sink under it. For not things done should be comprehended in verse, (which is much better performed by Historians) but the free spirit must throw itself headlong in digressions, and in personatings of Gods, and in fabulous ornaments upon the rack of invention: that it may seem rather an ebullition of some prophetick truths, amidst a world of pleasant extravagancies, from a breast inflamed with fury; than a deposition, as of sworn witnesses to tell the truth, all the truth, and nothing but the truth: As for example this rapture, though it have not received the last hand.

> Now conquering Rome did all the World controle,
> From East to West, from one to th'other pole:
> Yet was not satisfied . . . . . .

He proceeds to give the whole of the "Carmen de bello civili" in very tolerable heroic couplets.

We have now seen the wide distribution of Petronius and his influence up to the middle of the seventeenth century, and that even the *penitus toto divisi orbe Britanni* knew something of him; we have now to proceed to the discovery of the *Trimalchio's Feast.*

Accounts of the discovery of the Tragurian MS. are curiously conflicting and often wholly false. Fortunately, however, we have the account of one who was almost an eyewitness, and who bears a high reputation for accuracy—Giovanni Lucio, himself a native of the town. His book, which gives an admirable account of the whole series of events, is *Memorie istoriche di Tragurio, ora detto Trau,*[1] Venice, Stefano Curti, 1674, p. 531. His story is that il Signor Dottor Marino Stalileo, ritornato dallo studio di Padoua, ritrouò tra li manuscritti del Signor Nicolò Cippico vn Petronio Arbitro in foglio, legato insieme con Catullo, Tibullo, e Propertio, & osseruò, che la cena di Trimalchione (della quale nelli stampati si trouano alcuni pochi frammenti, & interrotti) era intiera: mi portò il libro, & io (now we see the advantage of having a first

(1) Some copies have a different title-page, on which the book is called *Historia di Dalmatia.*

hand account) insieme col Signor Francesco Dragazzo, lo rafrontai con lo stampato in Amsterdam, che hò in forma piccola, e trouai, che tutto'l resto di Petronio, fuori della cena, era nello stampato, mà non disposto nello stesso ordine, e nella cena verificai quello, che il Signor Statileo m'haueua riferito, e nel margine dello stampato con linee, e punti notai li raffronti, & esortai esso Signor Statileo, che rescriuesse la cena, come staua puntualmente con tutti gl'errori d'ortografia,[1] & interpuntuoni, e per decoro della patria lo facesse stampare." "Well, I," says Lucio, "went to Italy in 1654, where I told a considerable number of people of the new discovery; they were, naturally enough, most anxious to see it: so that I kept writing to both Statileo and Cippico, begging them to publish: however, they were too busy with their private affairs." One of those interested was the Venetian ambassador, Pietro Basadonna, who actually wrote to the Venetian general in Dalmatia for a copy: this was sent, having been made by the hand of Statileo himself. The ambassador decided to print it at Padua, and Lucio, having met the two brothers Blaeu, of Amsterdam, William and Peter, who were at that time in Rome, engaged to send them an exact copy that it might be printed as he had before suggested. It so happened, however, that his manuscript was intercepted on its journey, and fell into the hands of the Prince de Condé, who received it with the greatest delight, being a great admirer of Petronius—in fact, he kept a special reader, whose sole duty was to read aloud the *Satyricon* to his master—[2] and he showed it to all his friends in Paris. Meanwhile the Paduan publisher had not behaved very well. Instead of carrying out instructions—to print exactly what he received, he allowed himself to correct what he thought were the most obvious errors, thus producing a "conflated" result which would naturally arouse the suspicion of scholars; this was particularly the case with respect to the punctuation.

(1) The earliest instance I know of such a truly scholarly proceeding.

(2) On the authority of J. N. M. de Guerle (No. 102), p. 64. Another highly-placed admirer was Queen Christina of Sweden: we are even told that it was her favourite reading. *See* Adolphe Retté in *La Revue* (=*Revue des Revues*), Oct., 1904, p. 349.

Before speaking of the various editions of the Cena and of the attacks and defences which the discussion of its genuineness aroused, the history of the manuscript itself may be completed. Shortly after the attacks of the Valesii and of Wagenseil, and the defence of Petit, the savants of Rome decided to put the matter to a final test by submitting the actual MS. to a close examination. The leader in this plan was the Abbate Stefano Gradi, of noble Ragusan blood, who was librarian of the Vatican; they wrote to Statileo (the unfortunate owner, Cippico, seems never to have been consulted on these subjects), and the MS. was sent and laid before the *Letterati* of the Capital. We have the result in their Journal for the 27th August, 1668, pp. 105–108. It is too long to quote in full—the first two pages are occupied with a short retrospect of the literature that had already arisen on the subject since the first publication at Padua, and they then proceed: "Hora perche à leuar ogni sospetto, che in questo affare vi fosse stata fintione, sommamente importaua, che si mettesse sotto l'occhio d'huomini ruditi il Codice, da cui s'asseriua cauato, accioche potessero far giudicio dell' antichità sua: si è posta di mezo la generosità dell' Eccellentiss. Sign. Antonio Priuli (who, through the Venetian ambassador, sent the MS. to a friend named Lorenzo Grimaldi, where anybody could inspect it at will). Contiene questo Codice i versi di Tibullo, Propertio, e Catullo (che per equiuoco lo Stampatore di Padoua disse d'Horatio) e dopo, l'Esemplare di alcuni Frammenti di Petronio, con questo titolo in carattere rosso (I omit the description of the title and the exact contents: *see* Buecheler, ed. maior, p. xvi). L'hanno veduto molti huomini intelligenti, i quali hauēdolo considerato conuengono in darli l'età non solo di 200 mà di 300 anni: (they had better have kept to their first opinion, as if they had looked more closely, they would have seen the date 1429) essendosi frà l'altre cose auuertito, che tanto nella qualità della carta, quanto nella forma del carattere è somigliantissimo à vn Codice della Biblioteca Vaticana, che si sà per certo essere scritto di mano del Petrarca, . . . che fiori nel secolo decimo quarto: (I do not know which this MS. was. It seems rather a rough and ready method of palaeography): e s'e sclude affatto, che la scrittura sia stata supposta dal

Sig. Statileo. Mà che ne anco ciò fosse fatta da altri, lo conuince la medesima antichità del codice scritto indubitatamente in tempo, che non v'erano huomini atti à potere imitare lo stilo di quest' Autore."

They then proceed to discuss the style of the fragment without giving their argument at length; it may be said to their credit that they do recognise that the occurrence of a vulgar or ungrammatical form of speech does not imply that the writer was an ignoramus or an impostor—"Sono discorsi d'huomini vili, e della feccia del volgo, Amici di Trimalcione quando era in bassa fortuna."

But to return to Lucio; he was naturally delighted at the pronouncement of the wise men of Rome, and sent a copy of their journal to a friend in Paris, M. Baudraud, to show to the sceptics; but it does not seem to
163 have produced much effect; he says that an "Apology" for the fragment (*i.e.*, the *Responsio*) was written in the same year by the Abbate Gradi, which is confusing, as it was called by the name of Marinus Statileus, and was really by Pierre Petit (*see* p. 171); but all final doubts were not cleared
50 away until Lucio at last in 1670 had his long-promised exact copy printed by the brothers Blaeu with his letter, the *Apologia*, and a dedication to the Prince of Condé. After that date the voice of scepticism is no more raised. The Manuscript itself returned safely to Trau; we hear of it again twelve years after, in an English book: *A Journey into Greece*, by George Wheler, Esq., in Company of Dr. Spon, of Lyons, 1682, Book I, p. 23 (at Trau). "But the chief reason that made us take this day's Voyage, was to see a Manuscript, that hath made much noise among the Learned concerning its Antiquity; to wit, the fragment of Petronius Arbiter, which was wanting to his Works: Because for some ages this piece had not been seen, it was held to be but the fruit of the brain of some ingenious person, who had tried to imitate Petronius his Stile. Among others, Monsieur Valois was one, that esteemed it fictitious: But Signor Lucia, and the Abbot Gradi at Rome were of the contrary opinion; the first of whom had undoubtedly seen the Manuscript, Trau being his native Countrey. The Manuscript is in the hands of Dr. Statelius, a man of parts and learning, but sickly; not a

young man, as Monsieur Valois stiles him, with more pride than good manners; for he is near Threescore years old, and a grave and sober person, who, it may be thinks it not worth his pains to answer Monsieur Valois, whose arguments can be but of little force against the credit of sight. The Remarks that I made of it, are these.

The Manuscript hath Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius at the beginning, and not Horace, as the Preface to the Padua-Edition affirmeth. In Propertius is to be noted the Cognomen Nautae, that Scaliger taketh notice of in his Notes.

After these followeth in the same hand, and on the same sort of paper, eaten alike by the Worms, on the corners of the Margent, Petronius Arbiter, as it is printed; whose Title, written in red Letters, is as followeth :—

Petronius Arbiter.
Petronii Arbitri Satyri fragmentum ex
Libro Quinto Decimo & Sex-
to Decimo.

In which, among others, the Coena Trimalchionis is very amply related, as it is printed at Padua, and in Holland. After which, in a more modern hand is written Claudian. Dr. Statelius made us also take notice, that at the end of Catullus (which is of the Book pag. 179) at the lower corner of the Margent (the corner of which is eaten off with the Worms, with several other leaves) is the Date, written in the same ancient hand with the P. Arbiter, Thus:

1423. 20. Nobr.
Chapt. 6. Vers. 200."

The later history of the MS. until its final arrival at the Royal Library in Paris, is somewhat obscure; we learn from Vol. VIII, p. 206, of the *Réflexions sur les ouvrages de littérature*, Paris, 1739: "Après la mort de Pierre Paul Mariani (que avoit reçu en gage le MS. de Trau), le P. de Montfaucon fit en sorte, par le crédit d'un de ses amis, que les héritiers le vendissent, en 1703, pour la Bibliothèque du roi": and in fact the MS. does bear on its first page the legend *Emptus Romae a. 1703*. We know

from Menagiana III, 205 (quoting from Mabillon's *Iter Italicum*, 202) that Mabillon saw it in 1686 at Modena in the library of Lorenzo Statileo, the son of Marino: perhaps he had got into difficulties and pledged it to Pietro-Paolo Mariani; probably we shall never know exactly, and the subject is not really of great importance.[1]

With regard to the actual discovery of the MS. we get little help outside Lucio's book. From the preface of the Paduan publisher (Paolo Frambotti), we learn that it was believed to have belonged to Ettore Cippico, great-grandfather of Niccolò. This, however, does not nearly take us back to 1423, the date when it was written, and as to the archetype from which it was copied we are absolutely at a loss. The other particulars given by Frambotti are not really of great interest to us, as they deal only with the manner in which the Venetian ambassador looked after the printing. It is worthy of remark, however, that he ascribed to the MS. an age of about 200 years, which is nearly right, and not the 300 of the "Letterati" quoted above. Frambotti's crime he confesses himself—correctis dumtaxat nonnullis gravioribus orthographiae mendis, publici juris facere decrevimus. But for this officious interference, there would probably have been less doubt and controversy as to the authenticity of the fragments.

42 By the fact that Frambotti's privilege was dated December, 1663, he presumably published his volume early in 1664; the next edition was
43 published at the end of the same year (December 22nd) in Paris by Edmond Martin. There is an introduction and notes by Jo. Caius Tilebomenus. This is an anagram used as pseudonym: *Caius Tilebomenus* = *Iacobus Mentelius*, the true name of the editor. He believed in the new fragment, rightly founding his belief on the similarity of style with the rest of the Satirae, but wrongly ascribing the unfamiliarity of many of the words to a defective MS. or careless copyist: he did not see that many strange forms

(1) See also J. A. Farrer's *Literary Forgeries*, 1907, p. 20. Mr. Farrer seems still to hold the extraordinary opinion that the *Cena* may be a forgery after all. But he is still to a considerable extent a believer in Dr. Simonides!

were intentional from the vulgar character of the speakers. Meanwhile Nicolaus Heinsius sent a copy of the Paduan edition to Scheffer, originally of Strasburg, but now librarian of Upsala, who printed an edition at that 44
town in the course of 1665. He believed Petronius to have been the author of the fragment, in spite of many difficulties, and enriched his edition with a dissertation on the subject and notes.

In the next year we begin to hear whispers of doubt. Th. Reinesius, 45
at Leipzig, thought that there was a groundwork of genuine Petronian work, interpolated with ridiculous farsings by a late imitator; and also in 1666 we have a serious attack on the whole published at Paris, again by Edmond Martin. This was the work of two Scholars, Adrien de Valois and 162
Jo. Christ. Wagenseil; they were even careful on their title-page to call it the Cena Trimalcionis *nuper sub Petronij nomine vulgata.* To go at length into their arguments would be but to rattle the dry bones of a forgotten controversy; it is enough to say that they depend almost entirely upon unfamiliarities of style and diction, and an attempt to prove by the *similarity* of certain phrases that the interpolator, *servum pecus*, had attempted some degree of unconvincing verisimilitude.

This work was published in February or March of 1666; at the end of the same year (October or later) it received a crushing reply, printed by the same Martin. It is called *Marini Statilei Traguriensis I.C. Responsio ad Wagenseilii et Valesii Dissertationes: ad M. Mocaenicum P.V.;* but it 163
appears from contemporary evidence that this dissertation was not written *by* Marino Statileo, but *for* him. We have this on the authority of Lucio *l.c.*, and of the Abbé Nicaise's *Epistolae de obitu Petri Petiti* (1698); for Pierre Petit it was who was the true author. Petit was one of the *Pléiade latine* of Paris, and a man of real learning; he takes the arguments of Wagenseil and de Valois, both good scholars, paragraph by paragraph, and never fails to give what is even to modern readers a satisfactory answer. The only curious part is that in the course of his Petronian studies he was led to change his mind about the date of the author, and place him more than a century later.

The fact that this *Responsio* was pseudonymous has caused incredible confusion among almost all later editors; but as well as the positive evidence given above (to the effect that Petit was the author), we have strong negative evidence, to the effect that Statileo was not the author; for Jacob Spon, who went on the voyage into Greece with Mr. George Wheler, whose account of the MS. has already been given, remarks that *le docteur Statilius, de Traou, dans la bibliothèque duquel ce ms. se trouve, est un homme, qui auroit pu en parler pertinemment si ses maladies ne l'en eussent empêché.* That is to say, ten years later, he was known *not* to have written an answer to de Valois. Confusion has been worse confounded by the fact that many writers have identified this *Responsio* with Lucio's *Apologia* printed by the Brothers Blaeu. They are, of course, works of a different order; for this, though conclusive enough, is a hurried reply to two opponents written in the course of a month or two, while Lucio's *Apologia* is a calm disquisition on the whole question, of no immediate controversial import; and to any unprejudiced mind absolutely final.

During the year of the discovery of the new fragment appeared a curious little work in England which has not received any attention up to the present; this consists of two parts, the first a translation of Walter Charleton's *Ephesian Matron* (p. 163), and the second *Dissertatiunculae Quatuor Philosophicae*, i.e.,

De Amore in genere;
De Amore inter Marem & Foeminã;
De Amore Determinato;
De Amore Platonico;

366 for which the story of the Ephesian Matron serves as a text; the book is the work of Bartholemew Harris, M.A., and without printer's name—*Impensis Authoris 1665*. In 1672 appeared a little anonymous translation
367 from the French—*Judgment on Alexander and Caesar: and also on Seneca, Plutarch, and Petronius*, with a translation of the Ephesian Matron.

By 1669 we reach the end of the controversial literature described above,
49 and find, published by Blaeu at Amsterdam, the edition of Michael

Hadrianides. As Peter Burmann, himself a Dutchman, writing less than forty years later, knew nothing of Hadrianides, we are not likely to be able to discover more ; possibly the name was assumed, because of some rather disreputable additions at the end of the Satirae : such as the *Lusus in Priapum*, *Pervigilium Veneris*, *Ausonii cento nuptialis*, *Cupido crucifixus*, *Epistolae de Cleopatrae libidine*, *& alia nonnulla.* Burmann, at any rate, speaks the truth when he says *hominem, quis qualisve fuerit, minime novi, sed stultitia & ineptiis insignem fuisse ex notis ejus facile perspexi.* However, the edition is in some ways convenient, having the notes briefly put, at the bottom of the page ; it has a well-engraved allegorical frontispiece by Romyn de Hooghe.

In the next year the same publisher issued a little work which has 50
deservedly won great praise, and which may be said finally to have put an end to any doubts that may have been felt by any scholar as to the genuine nature of the new fragments. Under the superintendence of Lucius he produced an *exact* copy of the Traguriensian MS., with all its faults, and a comparative list of the changes and corrections in the Padua edition. So rare at this early date is so accurate and useful a piece of scholarship that we may agree with Orelli, who says : "Summa laude dignum est .... cum editor, Jo. Lucius, in eo diligenter elaborarit, ut unicum Codicem integrae Coenae Trimalchionis cum omnibus vitiis accuratissime exprimeret : cujus generis vix ulla alius scriptoris veteris exstat editio ante annum illum 1670, a quo statuendum arbitror criticae diplomaticae initium." It was in fact (lacking processes involving photographs or collotypes) as nearly as possible a facsimile of the famous Codex.

In 1675 appeared Scheffer's *Spicilegium Notarum*, being the Lectiones 164
Academicae at Hamburg for the year, and in 1677 Claude Audinet repeated at Paris Bourdelot's edition, adding, of course, the Trimalchio's 52
Feast ; according to Pétrequin the text was revised by Adrien de Valois. In the same year we have Boschius' edition at Amsterdam, published by Adr. Gaesbequius ; it is a tiny 24mo, 3½ inches by 2, and of no great 53

critical value—as Buecheler tells us, anything good in it is derived from the instructions of Heinsius.[1]

By this time Petronius had begun to be translated in France; the
87 question may detain us for a moment, as Collignon has not in this place quite completed his usually deep researches. In 1654 appeared a text and translation of Lucan by M[ichel] D[e] M[arolles A[bbé] D[e] V[illeloin], to which was appended a translation of the poem *de bello civili*; and the same Abbé in 1667, this time under the pseudonym M. L. D. B.,
88 translated into French verse all the poetical passages of the Satirae; there does not seem to be any great merit in any of the poems. In 1677
110 appeared the fourth edition of these verses, and a translation of a large part of the Satirae in the form of dialogues. Collignon here makes one of his rare errors, saying "Enfin, en 1677, il publia la traduction du Festin de Trimalchion. (Paris, in 8°)." But, as a fact, the book is a quarto; it is called *Les Vers de Pétrone, Chevalier Romain, contenus dans sa Satyre . . . . quatrième edition. A Paris, De L'Imprimerie de Iacques Langlois, fils.* It contains an Avertissement, a Table des Matières, noms des Personnages; a short Life of Petronius, and an account of his principal editions; VIII dialogues, fragments, and remarks on the Satirae; and then, with new pagination, the discussion of a recent criticism of Virgil, a translation of part of the first book of the Aeneid, and then miscellaneous translations from Horace, Propertius, Ovid, Lucan, Silius, Val. Flaccus, Statius, and Lucretius; finally, more criticism on a translation of Martial.

In 1678 we find the first Italian translation (there is no other until
154 1806). This is the *Successi di Eumolpione, portati nella nostra lingua da Ciriaco Basilico: dedicato ad generoso e virtuosiss. Sig. Gio. Giacomo Lavagna: Napoli, Antonio Bulifon.* It contains a frontispiece and a

(1) Heinsius projected, but never published an edition, unfortunately, as he certainly did more for the text than any editor up to Buecheler. The notes of his that we have were extracted from editions of his pupils, such as this of Boschius, and from letters in Vol. V of the *Sylloge epistolarum doctorum vitorum*, Lugd. Bat. 1724-1727. I do not unfortunately know Dutch well enough to read his "De Vermakelyke Avanturier;" as it is a Picaresque story of a wandering rascal, I should expect to find it in Petronian reminiscences.

portrait of Lavagna. The Satirae are expurgated and altered almost out of recognition; all the names are changed, and there are some passages added at the caprice of the translators. The actual translation is praised by P. Fanfani, 243
Di Petronio Arbitro e de' suoi Traduttori Italiani. The book must be rare; V. Lancetti, the Italian translator of 1806, could not find a copy after the most laborious research; but there is one in the British Museum Library.

In 1687 appeared at *Cologne*, *Pierre Marteau* (a false address; it was 111
certainly secretly printed in France), a translation into French of the whole of the Satirae except the two long poems, the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*, and according to Collignon[1] the same edition appeared two years later with an equally false ascription to Antwerp, François 112
Ducoin. Collignon also gives some contemporary opinions on the work, and disposes of the view that the translation was the work of Chalvet, the Marseilles lawyer.[2]

The editions of the next fifteen years are not exciting. Hadrianides 54
was reprinted, Boschius was reprinted. For the Cologne edition of 1691 55
we depend solely on the notice in Bipontine Bibliography, so that it is 56
impossible to tell whether it was a real Cologne edition or a French book with a false title-page. It may be mentioned as a curiosity that in 1691 the poem on the Civil War had been translated and commented in Polish; 369
it is to be found at the end of a Lucan published in that year; and then once more the world of scholars was startled by the report of the discovery of new fragments of Petronius.

Nodot, who combined the professions of a soldier of fortune and a man of letters, wrote from Strasburg in October, 1690, to Charpentier, President of the French Academy, with this story: A Frenchman of good birth, named du Pin, had been at the Sack of Belgrade (Alba Graeca) in 1688, where he had made the acquaintance of a certain Greek renegade, and stayed in his house. This renegade's father, a man of some learning, had presumably acquired the MS., and du Pin, seeing the book lying among a pile of others, and finding it *litteris lectu difficillimis exaratus*, after

(1) Pétrone en France, p. 64. (2) Collignon, p. 66; Pétrequin, p. 141.

some attempts at reading it, which he found only partially successful, procured an amanuensis and had it copied out; he had the copy in his house at Frankfort, and had expressed his willingness to show it to Nodot if he were able to make the journey to that town. The latter found his military duties made the fulfilment of such a journey impossible, but after fearing for a time that he would have to give up all idea of seeing the MS., fortunately became acquainted with a merchant of Frankfort, who undertook to send him a copy and to find an amanuensis for that purpose. This accordingly was done, and Nodot concludes his letter by asking Charpentier to lay the result before the Academy and ask for their blessing and approval.

Charpentier answered on the 9th of November in the same year in the most effusive strains; he congratulates Nodot both on his good fortune and his munificence in defraying the expenses of copying and publication, and says that he awaits with anxiety the appearance of the edition, which was to be printed at Rotterdam: "Priora quae ad me misisti folia legentium curiositatem non explent, sed accendunt: nec minor tui apud Batauos quam Lutetiae expectatio est." Other Frenchmen sent little poems of congratulations—Santeuil, de Caen, and Jos. Olivier, which appeared at the beginning
57 of the volume published in 1692 by Regnerius Leers. It contains an introductory letter, *Typographus Lectori*, the correspondence between Nodot and Charpentier, the epigrams mentioned above, and the text with the new
61 fragments in italics. It was repeated the following year by Leers, and some copies of this were supplied with a title-page purporting to have been
58 printed by A. & J. Churchill, in Paternoster Row, and placed on the
59, 60 London Market. In this year also appeared two editions in Paris, published by Jean-Baptiste Langlois and Thomas Moete respectively. In the case of the latter some of the copies erroneously bear the date 1683. Both these are identical with the Rotterdam edition, except the prefatory letter, which is paraphrased by the Parisian bookseller, but has no change in sense.

It may be imagined how great a sensation was made throughout the learned world by the report of this discovery. Only 25 years before the

MS. of Trau had appeared and set scholar against scholar disputing as to its authenticity; and now the same was to happen about what seems to us to-day the most obvious forgery. Charpentier accepted it, the Academies of Arles and Nîmes both welcomed it with joy; and Nodot must have thought at first that his daring invention would take its place on our shelves by the side of the masterpieces of the classics; but the objections of scholars outside France soon began to be heard: Leibnitz,[1] J. Fr. Cramerus, Isaac Perizonius, and (to our credit) Bentley all denied stoutly the possibility that the fragments could be genuine; and soon in France itself Basnage cried out upon the fraud: in his *Histoire des ouvrages des Sçavans*, published in November, 1692, he throws doubt upon the whole story, which was certainly suspicious in itself, and had the one merit of not requiring Nodot to produce the original MS.; and he also comments severely upon the style and Latinity of the new fragments, which he shows to be full of Gallicisms, errors of meaning, and anachronisms. The conviction was pressed home by the lawyer Breugière de Barante in 1694, who published under the pseudonym of Georges Pélissier a little book entitled 165
Observations sur le Pétrone trouvé à Belgrade en 1688 et imprimé à Paris en 1693. The answer to this was Nodot's *Contrecritique*, which will be men- 167
tioned presently. In the same year appeared another criticism—*Lettres de M. de *** sur un livre qui a pour titre: Traduction entière de Pétrone . . . .* —and in a spirit of mockery the anonymous author dates his book *Cologne, chez P. Groth*, like the French translations produced by Nodot. I have not been 166
able to see a copy of this work, which is curiously rare; in the catalogue of the duplicates of the Lyons library it is ascribed to the Jesuit J. B. de Mongenet: the arguments are said to be not without merit, and some of them may be seen in Pétrequin.[2] The veteran Bishop Daniel Huet was not behindhand in condemning the forgery.

(1) Collignon, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 and 83.

(2) *Op. cit.* (No. 225) p. 95 (*Cf.* p. 141, note 66). *See* also de Terrebasse, *Recherches* Bibliographiques (No. 276) pp. 10 sqq., who gives a full account of de Mongenet and of the controversy between him and Nodot. He gives reasons for believing that both Nodot's translations and de Mongenet's criticism were printed and published at Grenoble.

It is not necessary to pursue at length the enquiry as to the sources from which Nodot composed his supplements; they would not, in fact, be beyond the powers of any man of a fair classical education and an extensive imagination; but it is worth while calling attention to the theory developed by Pétrequin,[1] that they were derived from an unpublished completion of the Satirae by Linage, assisted by the poet Nicolas Chorier. The idea does not seem improbable, but a critical knowledge of the by-ways of French literature in the XVII century would be necessary satisfactorily to test it. The case is strengthened by the fact that Chorier certainly knew Petronius well by the time he wrote the infamous Satyra Sotadica Aloysiae Sigeae (about 1664); although Collignon only mentions three passages in which Petronius is imitated, I have myself noted about ten others in the course of a cursory reading.

The editions of Nodot which contain a French translation as well as the Latin are enough to drive a bibliographer mad; they all profess to come from Cologne, and exist in so many varieties that one may well despair of keeping the editions clear of one another. However, this seems to be an approximate list.[2]

(1) Pierre Groth, Cologne. Traduction entière de Pétrone, suivant le
91 nouveau manuscript trouvé à Bellegrade en 1688. Avec les remarques. Large paper. Both volumes have a curious misprint in the date M.CD.XCIV. It contains the correspondence of Nodot and Charpentier in French, Vie de Pétrone, Prefaces, Clef des Noms, Avertissement, and two French epigrams, one by Santeuil, and the other a good translation of Olivier's Latin.[3]

(1) *Op cit.*, pp. 100-107.

(2) According to de Terrebasse, *op. cit.*, the first four of these editions, as well as No. 166, were printed at Grenoble by J. Verdier for A. Giroud.

(3) A l'auteur de la Traduction de Pétrone.

Quand je lis ta Traduction,
Si conforme à l'Auteur, que c'est la même chose:
Sans le respect qu'on doit à la Religion,
Je croirois la Metempsicose.

(2) Still Pierre Groth, same place and date: an engraved frontispiece, and red printing on the title-page. La Satyre de Pétrone Contenant les galanteries & les débauches de l'Empéreur Néron et de ses favoris, avec des remarques curieuses, et une table des Principales Matières, Enrichi de Figures en Taille Douce. The pictures, nine in number, excluding the frontispiece, are not badly executed, but do not bear the name of the engraver. 92

This edition contains in addition to all in No. (1) a detailed table of contents (Table des Matières).

(3) French translation alone. "Cologne, chez Pierre Groth": vol. 1, 1693; vol. 2, 1694. 113

(4) La Traduction de plusieurs pièces tirées de Pétrone, Paris, Moëte, 1694.

(5) French translation only. Les Galanteries et les Debauches de l'Empéreur Néron . . . . par Pétrone, Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau. The engravings are inferior copies of those in No. (2), and are signed I. v. Aveele. Curiously the frontispiece bears the date A° 1695, so that we can be sure that this edition is posterior to the last, and that the engravings of No. (2) are not improved copies of these, but *vice versa;* in that case it is remarkable that the imitator should have signed his plates and the original engraver remained anonymous. Except for the omission of the Latin text the contents of this are precisely similar to those of No. (2). 114

(6) Title-page and contents similar to No. (2), but Chez Pierre Marteau: I. v. Aveele's plates. 89

So end the editions of this year: but it will be convenient to take this opportunity of rapidly enumerating the further editions of Nodot's text and translation.

(7) As No. (6), with date 1695, and new frontispiece, on which are the words Les Oevures De Petrone I. C. Morf fecit A° 1694. 93

(8) 1698: the same,[1] but without name of place or printer, and bearing a device involving the punning motto *Nodi solvuntur a Nodo.* 94

(1) Avec plusieurs Remarques et Additions, qui manquent dans la première Edition.

95 (9) 1709: the same. Containing for the first time the *Contre-Critique de Pétrone.* New plates, on the same subjects, unsigned.

96 (10) 1713: the same.

98 (11) 1736: the same, but a new device, and *A Amsterdam, aux dépens de la Compagnie.*

101 (12) 1756: the same. (Not in Collignon).

103 (13) [1799] *An VII. A Paris, chez Gide.* New plates, by Bevalet.

And what is to be our opinion of this book, so popular that editions of it were repeated for more than a hundred years? Not very high, it is to be feared, without going so far as to use an ugly word, and to say that the interest in it was mainly pornographical; it cannot be doubted that Nodot's additions were just sufficient to make the whole into a readable story and amuse the fashionable world of France[1] with a tale more lascivious than the ordinary novels of their literature; it was not a book for scholars, but for the idle men and women whose vices and idleness finally brought down upon themselves the great disaster of the Revolution.

But to return to the time of the Nodotian forgeries, 1694, the year when so many French editions appeared, also saw the first complete English
122 translation. Mr. Burnaby, of the Middle-Temple (on whom a short article may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography), and Another Hand, took the opportunity of the completion of the Novel to make a translation. In the Preface he refuses absolutely to vouch for the authenticity of the new fragments, and uses a curious expression: "The New is suspected to be Illegitimate: But it has so many Features of the lawful Father, that he was at least thought of when 'twas got." He apologises for the doubtful morality of the whole, but defends it by the already existing translations of Juvenal and Suetonius. The translation is fairly vigorous, much better in prose than in the poetical passages; the less decent parts

(1) *See* Collignon (Pétrone en France), Ch. III, for an account of the French readers and admirers of Petronius in the XVIII century.

are by no means toned down, and the translator seems to delight in the use of vulgar terms and sometimes even introduces an additional suggestion where there is none in the original.

As Burnaby's translation formed the basis of others, it will be convenient here to consider all the XVIII century English translations; but before doing so, let us pause for a moment to see if he had any predecessors.

We know how great an admirer of Petronius was St. Evremond; the exact evidence may be found in Collignon,[1] and as this writer was not without influence in England his praise may have prepared the way for a translation. In fact, we have in 1692 the *Miscellaneous Essays by Monsieur* 370
St. Euremont in which[2] there is a *Judgment upon Petronius* occupying 16 pages; the circulation of this in England may well have ensured a good reception for Burnaby's translation published in the ensuing year. Already in 1685 'Some Oxford Hands' had produced a little Miscellany of poems 368
and translations, among which we find some fragments of Petronius translated. Only one, however, is the undoubted work of our author, the rest being from the Catalecta; it is a translation of the poem *Quisquis habet nummos* in ch. 137, and not without merit, as follows:—

> The wealthy Lord thro Storms at Court may sail
> Into Preferment with a prosperous gale.
> On Honours gilded Pinacles may stand,
> And have the world, and Fortune at command;

About 1679 Mr. John Oldham wrote his "Satyrs upon the Jesuits," in which he speaks of Petronius none too delicately.[3] And[4] he also gives us "A Fragment of Petronius, Paraphras'd," which need not be quoted, as it is a translation of the poem whose Petronian authorship is more than doubtful: "Foeda est in coitu et brevis voluptas."

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 73. (2) p. 241.

(3) *Works*, sixth edition, 1704, p. 56.

> Not Ovid . . . . . .
> Had greater skill in these Intrigues, than I:
> Nor Nero's learned Pimp, to whom we owe
> What choice Records of Lust are extant now.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

123 In 1708 we find a much enlarged and altered version of Burnaby's translation; it includes the *Life and Character* of the Author "Written by Mons. St. Evremont; and a Key to the Satyr, by a Person of Quality." The translators are this time several in number: Mr. Wilson, Mr. Burnaby, Mr. Blount, Mr. Tho. Brown, Capt. Ayloff, and several others. At the end is added a dull Whig poem, called "The Charms of Liberty; a Poem, by the late Duke of D————." There are plates (C. Knight delin. M. V^dr. Gucht sculp.) imitated from those in the Nodotian translations. The Key and the list of contents are translated from the same French editions. The translation is distinctly improved in polish, even if it has lost
124, 125 some of its original vigour. The second and third editions[1] of this book are not to be found in any of the libraries to which I have had access: the fourth
126 edition was published in 1712 (some copies are dated 1713 or 1714) and contains no changes, but has added at the end "An Essay on Poetry, by His Grace John Duke of Buckingham, Lord President of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council," and the name of the Duke of D———— is given in full—the Duke of Devonshire.[2] Of the 1708 edition a facsimile, or rather, a word for word reprint was made, and issued privately to
133 subscribers in 1899. But they must have found it a dear guinea's worth, and remaindered copies can be picked up for ten shillings or so now.

Reaching now the year 1736 we come to the translation "By Mr.
128 Addison." It is again translated from a Nodotian edition, and contains the usual Key and Life by St. Evremont; the rendering is fairly accurate and the English polished, but the whole lacks vigour and force. The Dictionary of National Biography does not mention this Addison: that his Christian name was John we may learn from the preface to his Anacreon, published 1735. This being so, he may possibly be the John Addison who graduated at Queen's College, Oxford, in March, 1731–2. In 1738, curiously enough, that
377 part of his translation which deals with the Cena was translated into German.

(1) Lowndes, without further description, mentions a translation in 1711, which is presumably one of these two.

127A (2) This fourth edition, with some red printing on the title-page, was re-issued in 1721 for Tho. Bickerton at the *Crown* in *Pater-Noster-Row*.

We find no more translations into English during the century; but it is worth remarking that the name was more than once used as a pseudonym by a lampooner. In 1743 we find the "Richardiad, translated from a Greek fragment of Petronius Arbiter by Theodorus Gratian," and in 1797 (the most probable date) a cruel libel on "the present Countess of Derby (late Miss Farren) by Petronius Arbiter, Esq.," which ran into seven editions and was the cause of violent replies. Collignon[1] mentions that during the XVIII century "le conte de la Matrone d'Ephèse continue à inspirer en ce siècle les écrivains dramatiques," and gives examples: so in England we find "The Ephesian Matron. A Comic Serenata, after the manner of the Italian, London 1769. By I. Bickerstaffe." Collignon, of course, gives only the French playwrights; possibly research might discover an Italian original for Bickerstaffe's comedy. 378 385

While engaged on the subject of translations, it may be better to complete the conspectus of those published in the XVIII century before passing to other matters. Those in French are mentioned by Collignon—Bouhier's version of the *Carmen de bello civili*, the versions of Lavaur (for which no one, apparently, has a good word to say), and of Dujardin, under the pseudonym of Boispreaux. This book was published simultaneously in two editions—A Londres, chez Jean Nourse, and A la Haye, chez Jean Neaulme. Both of these addresses are false, the book being secretly printed in France. The translation is very little superior to that of Lavaur. Just within the limits of this century comes de Guerle's translation of the Poem on the Civil War, but it is of so essentially modern a character, especially as regards the notes and the *recherches sceptiques*, that it is better considered with the XIX century work on our author. 100 97 115, 116 102

In Germany, except for the rendering of part of Addison's translation mentioned above, the first portion to be translated was the Feast, which is to be found, according to the Bipontine Notitia Literaria in Flögel and Klose's *Beyträge zur Philosophie*, published at Bresslau in 1764. The first 380A

(1) Pétrone en France, p. 92.

137 complete translation was that of Wilhelm Heinse, 1773. It professed to be published at Rome, but is said really to have Schwabach as its town of origin. As far as a foreigner can judge, the translation is vigorous and correct: it is not necessary to quote any of it; although the original book is rare, it
148 was reprinted word for word by Weigel at Leipzig in 1898. It is introduced by a preface which Friedlaender (p. 16) rightly calls "unglaublich schamlose" in which he defends (to his "Leserinnen und Leser") the loose character of some of the stories he is about to translate, and treats them to a disquisition on love in general. It was repeated, with nothing but the
138 title changed, in 1783, called *Geheime Geschichte des Römischen Hofes unter Neros Regierung*, and in 1792 *Buhlschaften und Liebesintriguen der Römer unter der Regierung des Kaisers Nero*: this time it is a Zwote verbesserte
139 Auflage, and published at "Cypriper, im verlag bey Ganymed." In 1796
140 appeared two more translations, one published by J. C. Hendel, at Halle, one by J. C. Karl Schlüter, "Doctor der Arzeneiwissenschaft, der
141 Weltweisheit und der frehen Künste Magister"; the other (printed by Unger at Berlin) by Adolf Gröninger. Schlüter's name and grandiose title are obviously a pseudonym. On the authority of Engelmann's *Bibliotheca Classica* the translation was the work of H. W. Schmidt.
142 A new translation appeared in 1798 at "Blanckenburg und Leipzig." Nothing seems to be known of the author, save that he seems to have had a constitutional objection to capital letters, not even allowing them to the proper names. The translation is not so good as Heinse's. There was no Italian translation during the century.

We have now to consider the editions published during this hundred
62 years. In the first place, in 1700 there is the tiny 32mo published by Wolters of Amsterdam, which also includes the Priapeia. "Editio mendis plena," says the Bipontine *Notitia;* the notes of Boschius, Reinesius, and Scheffer appear at the end. In the following year appeared at Jena a
63 curious volume—a Bowdlerised Petronius, *Puritate donatum ejectis obscoenis .... usibus juventutis restitutum.* Pétrequin[1] makes a mistake in saying

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

that this edition was by J. A. Bosius; we are told on the title-page *Acc. annotatt. e MS. Io. Andr. Bosii*, but, on the authority of Engelmann's *Bibliotheca*, the editor was Adam Gschwend. This edition, whether from much thumbing as a school book, or simply because its ridiculous character impeded its circulation, has become very rare, and there are few copies to be found. The publisher, J. Bielke, perhaps found that this mutilated version did not meet with a ready sale, for in the next year he published a complete edition, *ad formam Joh. Min-Ellii.* In the preface the printer 64
speaks of his venture of the previous year, saying that it had had some success, but that yet there were some who preferred the author *prisco habitu*, and for them the present edition had been arranged. The book is ill-printed, and the scanty notes are valueless. In 1707 appeared the first edition actually printed in England; it is a Nodotian text, *Typis* 65
J. N. Impensis Galt. Wale in Coemeterio D. Pauli, & Edm. Curll ad Insigne Pavonis extra Temple Bar. Apparently it did not command any great sale, as it was re-issued in 1711 with plates copied from the French 67
editions (by H. Hulsbergh), and a new title-page, showing that Curll had now taken over the whole responsibility, and priced two shillings and sixpence. I pass over the *Comparatio Petronii et Virgilii* of Tollius 373
(published by Le Paulmier de Grantemesnil in 1704). We now reach the monumental edition of Peter Burmann, published at Utrecht by Guil. van de Water in 1709. This is an impressive quarto in two volumes, at a 66
total of over 1,200 pages, and I am bound to say that Buecheler does it less than justice, saying *ex qua fructum capias perquam exiguum si exceperis Nicolai Heinsii notas antea ineditas.* It is true that Heinsius' notes are the best things in the book, but those of Burmann himself are not to be despised, and there is more than one conjecture due to Burmann alone which Buecheler has received into his text. Burmann's Petronius is really a great work; for besides the collection of the thirty odd commentators printed at length in the second volume the notes below the text consist of their remarks and suggestions digested and selected, and the text, though not epoch-making, is sober and critically

revised. The book is, in fact, a first-class specimen of the manner of treating an author which was most pleasing to our ancestors of the XVIII century—a Variorum edition. A second edition appeared in
69 1743, inferior from every point of view. The format is less attractive—the graceful quartos have become thicker and more squat; the printing is not so elegant, and J. J. Reiskius, who had been given the task of correcting the MS. and proofs, introduced more than 140 of his own conjectures *simul atque iterum non infeliciter, conties prorsus insane.* This edition was published by Waesbergius at Amsterdam. Caspar Burmann attacked Reiske bitterly for his liberties in the preface,
169 and Reiske defended himself at some length in the *Miscellanea Nova Lipsiensia*, Vol. VI, 1748. Peter Burmann was a man of encyclopædic reading, and his illustratory passages are drawn from the remotest sources and are generally apposite. During his long life, besides the composition of various Thesauri and an Antiquitates Romanae, he edited Horace, Velleius Paterculus, Quintilian, Justinus, Valerius Flaccus, Suetonius, Lucan, Virgil, Claudian, Phaedrus, Ovid, and prepared an edition of the Poetae Latini minores. The preface to the Petronius is full of good sense, and has a very fair, though not detailed, discussion of the questions connected with the date and style of the work. He is capable, too, of a vigorous style upon occasions, if we may judge from a casual remark on one of Nodot's "improvements": unde Gallicus iste mango lectionem suam depromserit, nescio; certe non ex vetusto suo codice, quem jactitat: ille autem nusquam est. It is impossible, however, to pass without censure a curious little piece of sectarian prejudice which even so great a scholar as Burmann allowed to affect the charity of his views; speaking of the fact that many portions of the Satirae as we now possess them are obscene, or rather, that we seem to possess a larger proportion of obscene passages that existed, in proportion to the whole, in the original work, he accounts for this fact by saying that they were the passages which the monks of the Middle Ages were most likely to have preserved. This view was rightly condemned with scorn by

Pétrequin, and it is melancholy to see it partly revived by the great Orelli, in his Zurich dissertation of 1836, who says: "Injurias .... Satyricon 188
libri .... perpessi sunt, cum a monachis occulte lectitati, furtive descripti in frusta lacerarentur." This is surely anti-clerical odium in its worst form.

Between the two editions of Burmann appeared a dull text at Leipzig, apud Casparum Fritsch, in 1731. The anonymous editor (Preface, p. 15) 68
professes to have collated the text with Burmann's recension, but there is little sign of any critical care; the text in the main follows the Nodotian scheme of 1693, though the forgeries are printed in italics and not presented to the reader as genuine.

We next reach a far more interesting volume: there was published in 1734, professedly at Florence, but in fact somewhere in Germany, or at 168
Amsterdam, the Chrestomathia Petronio-Burmanniana; sive cornu-copiae observationum eruditissimarum & ante plane inauditarum, quas Vir illuminatissimus, rerum omnium, et multarum praeterea aliarum, peritissimus, Petrus Burmannus congessit in Petronium Arbitrum, Scriptorem sanctissimum, Accepit specimen Latinitatis novae, Romanis incognitae, è Notis Petri Burmanni ad Petronium. We may well agree with the compiler of the Bipontine Notitia that the author of this volume "Burmannum satis acerbe tractat." It is believed to have been the work of Isaac Verberg, assisted to some extent by Tib. Hemsterhuis, who had certainly quarrelled with Burmann. Many of the suggestions of the author of this libel have considerable critical value. This was seen by Orelli, who gives some of them,[1] and who quotes two of the passages in which Burmann most laid himself open to the attacks of an enemy—incredibilis *ἀβλεψίας* documenta. To those quoted by Orelli a specimen may be added from p. 50 of the Chrestomathia, on Petr. 46_3. The first words are:—"Pag. 229. Ingeniosus est et bono filo, etiamsi in naves morbosus est. Sunt verba ejusdem Echionis, hominis pene barbari, abnormis certe, quae ita explicantur a Burmanno: Praestat, in nave morbosus est, id est, mariscas habet." The rest of the remarks are best veiled in silence. Thus, in a series of bitter

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 15–19.

onslaughts, which are a skilful compound of really sound criticism and the grossest abuse, the unfortunate editor is harassed from page to page with contumely. But he did not seem to mind, and set about preparing the new edition on which he was engaged at the time of his death. A proclamation was published by the Booksellers' Guild at Amsterdam in
376 1736 that nobody was to sell or buy the libellous production.

In the first half of this century, Pope had mentioned Petronius in the lines:—

> Fancy and Art in gay Petronius please:
> The Scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.
> (*Essay on Criticism*, 667).

and in the Volume of "Pope's Letters" (Curll's unauthorised edition) we seem to have another indication that Pope was known as an admirer of our author. On p. 41 of the second volume (1735 edition) we find this letter
375 addressed by an anonymous correspondent to Mr. Curll:—

NORWICH, *June 12, 1735.*

SIR,

For your second Volume of Literary Correspondence &c I here send you an Imitation of the Feast of Trimalchio, from Petronius Arbiter. Compare it your self with the Original, or shew it to Mr. Pope, or commit it to the Flames, which you please. But, if you print it, you may say, it was designed for the Entertainment of our present Mayor.*

Your humble Servant,

The Translator.

* Mr. Alderman Vere, M.P. for Norwich.

Then follows (nine pages) a weak imitation of the first few chapters of the *Feast*, much altered, under the heading "Convivium Sybariticum." Presumably by the "entertainment" of the Mayor nothing more original is meant than his amusement in reading: not an actual banquet in imitation of the Feast, such as was given in 1701 at the Court of Hanover. A full description is given by Leibnitz in a letter to Princess Louise of Hohen-

zollern, quoted at length by Friedlaender (II ed., p. 19); or such as provided for the Regent by the Abbé Margon about 1720.[1]

Dr. Johnson probably knew Petronius, or he would not have commented upon the passage quoted above from the Essay on Criticism by saying that Pope had probably never read him, and that young men were often inclined to claim acquaintance with books of which they only knew the outside. But he is not so severe as two other commentators on the passage: to Warton "This dissolute and effeminate writer little deserved a place" in the ranks of those critically mentioned, while Edwin opines that Pope, "if he had known Petronius, would not have celebrated the most corrupt and disgusting writer of antiquity for such high qualities as these." Sterne, we may believe to have known and admired Petronius: there are no certain citations, but all true Shandeans must admit that he was a kindred spirit.

The fruits of Burmann's labours were made accessible to the public in a smaller form by Conrad Gottlieb Anton, a professor in Eastern languages, 70
and published at Leipzig in 1781, by Caspar Fritsch. The edition only professes to be *ex recensione Petri Burmanni passim reficta*, and does not call for any particular remark (as the few conjectures added by Anton himself are valueless) except for the fact that it was the ordinary annotated edition, as the Bipontine was the ordinary text, until the publication of Buecheler's Editio Major 80 years after. Its most valuable point, perhaps, is that Burmann's index is printed in full—in fact, until the publication of Segebade and Lommatzsch's Lexicon Petronianum it was the ordinary work of reference to the Satirae.

(1) A description of this, and a brief account of the Abbé Margon, may be found in Pétrequin, *op. cit.*, p. 111. He there quotes some verses by Frederick the Great which describe the *Cena*, and proceed:—

Qui serviroit à present à ses hôtes
Un tel repas, au lieu d'être loué
Des successeurs des Térences, des Plautes,
En plein théâtre serait bafoué . . . . .

Yet apparently the experiment was tried by Frederick's brother: Friedlander (No. 349) quotes a diary of Count E. A. H. von Lehndorff, published by K. E. Schmidt-Loetzen under the title *Dreissig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs der Grossen* (Gotha, 1907), p. 20 (Nov., 1751). Der Prinz von Preussen giebt das Fest des Trimalchio, das zum Belustigendste gehört, was man sehen kann.

71 In 1785 was published one of the remarkably few well-printed editions of this author. The text need not detain us, as it is merely that of Anton omitting the Nodotian forgeries, but the press-work and format is very fine, and reminiscent of the best work of Foulis or Barbou. On the authority of the Bipontine *Notitia*, we owe it to the munificence and good taste of the Count de Rewiczksy. The printer was Fr. Unger, of Berlin.

72 The Bipontine edition appeared in 1790, and is an agreeable and useful book. The text again is Anton's, or very nearly; but there is also a short and not inaccurate life; a reprint of the notice on Petronius in Ernesti's recension of the *Bibliotheca Classica* of Fabricius, and, most valuable of all, the first serious attempt at anything like a bibliography. It is called *Ernestio-Harlesiano auctior*, showing its foundation, but the editor has added much that is new, and though it is of course incomplete, it gives a fairly representative list of editions, with short notices, from the *editio*
73 *princeps* to 1785: in the same year, 1790, Lallement had prepared an edition for the Barbou Series, but only part seems to have been printed, and few copies of that.

384 Renouard published in 1796 a limited edition of 90 copies of the Matron of Ephesus and Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche.

74 Here may be mentioned the work of La Porte du Theil, published somewhere between 1796 and 1800; only four copies of the second volume survive: all the rest, and the whole edition of the first volume were destroyed by the author on the advice of a friend, the Baron de Sainte-Croix. No time need be spent in describing this edition, which is by no means without value, as there is a very full description in Collignon.[1]

75 The last complete edition of the century was published at Paris, again by Renouard, in 1797, or Anno V as the printer, Charles Crapelet, prefers to call it: *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon ex optimis exemplaribus emendatum*, in two

(1) Pétrone en France, pp. 103–112. Du Theil's very bulky MS. compilations for this edition have lately been added to the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 20287–20289). They contain much bibliographical and explanatory matter not easily met with elsewhere, and ought to be worked through by anyone contemplating a complete edition of the *Satyricon*.

small volumes, 12mo. It is a well-printed pocket edition, and though there is nothing new in the text, there is a useful list of the *dramatis personae* at the beginning, and a *Glossarium Petronianum* at the end. According to Pétrequin, it is possible that the editor was the ex-Oratorian Dotteville.

Beau Nash was considered the English Petronius. Here is his epitaph, by Harington :—

Adeste O cives, adeste Lugentes
Hic silent Leges
Ricardi Nash, Armig.
Nihil amplius imperantis;
Qui diu et utilissime
Assumptus Bathoniae
Elegantiae Arbiter
Eheu!
Morti (ultimo designatori)
Haud indecore succubuit
Ann. Dom. MDCCLXI, Aetat. suae LXXXVII.

(Cornhill Magazine, N.S., vol. XII, p. 550).

Towards the end of this century England even has the honour of having produced another so-called fragment, though it can hardly have deceived anyone. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1785, I, p. 195,[1] appeared 383
the following letter :—

Mr. URBAN, INVERNESS, *Feb. 3.*

The following curious fragment translated from the Latin of the original, which is attributed to Petronius Arbiter, was found lately among the papers of a learned traveller at Constantinople, who had received it, some years before his death, from the late Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq., and is printed with a view to excite attention to the Eastern repositaries of classic learning, where much may be recovered, if Apollo shall ever be permitted to shew his golden locks on the banks of Hellespont.

To Cossulianus Capito. A. B.

(1) Wrongly numbered : it should be p. 255.

Then follows the fragment, in English. It is wonderfully stupid, and professes to be a letter from Petronius to a Roman friend while he was Consul in Bithynia. It is apparently meant as a Satire: trivial facts are mentioned in it which cannot be other than parodies or satirical representations of events of the time.

One name was omitted by Collignon in his survey of French references to Petronius in the XVIII century, that of the Venetian adventurer, Casanova. There are references to the Matron of Ephesus, to the name of Giton, which is often applied to persons of similar character. In one case the name of the boy is, curiously enough, Petronio.[1] Casanova also mentions the fact that J. J. Rousseau adopted the motto "quisque exercet histrioniam," which does not occur in the *Satyricon* as we have it, but which is cited as from Petronius by John of Salisbury.[2]

The XVIII century closed well—with another forgery. In 1800
104 appeared a little pamphlet now of extreme rarity—Fragmentum Petronii ex Bibliothecae Sti. Galli antiquissimo MSS. excerptum, nunc primum in lucem editum. Gallice vertit ac notis perpetuis illustravit Lallemandus, S. Theologiae Doctor. 1800. The author in his preface, which he dedicates to the Army of the Rhine, professes to have found it in a manuscript of the work of St. Gennadius on the Duties of Priests, probably of the XI century. On closer examination this appeared to be a palimpsest, which after treatment, yielded this fragment to view.

It professes to fit in between sections 5 and 6 of chapter 26, and not only is it of an obscenity which even surpasses the preceding text, but the grammar, style, and use of words make an almost perfect imitation: from internal evidence alone it is almost impossible to detect that it is a forgery.

(1) See also his letters to Faulkircher, 10, 15.

(2) He often quoted from memory, and may perhaps have been thinking of the line in ch. 5, "neve plausor in scena Sedeat redemptus histrioniae addictus" (or, according to some MSS., histrionis ad rictus.) I do not suppose that Rousseau had ever read John of Salisbury: he had doubtless noted the quotation in Montaigne—the very passage criticized by Michelet in his *Histoire de France*. "Les délicats, les dégoûtés, les fatigués (et tous l'étaient) s'en tuirent au mot de Pétrone traduit et commenté par Montaigne, *Totus mundus exercet histrioniam*."

Not only is the original edition unprocurable, but the reprint at Soleure 109
(Brussels), 1865, consisted only of 120 copies, and is hard to find. The most accessible place for English readers is in Bohn's translation, in which, however, only the Latin text is given: and the notes were a most important part of the original work.

The author of this remarkable production was Joseph Marchena, a Spaniard, born in 1768. He was originally destined for the Church, but in early youth took to philosophy and other less reputable amusements, and in fact, before he had reached his thirtieth year he was forced to avoid the too pressing attentions of the Inquisition, as an enemy both of Religion and morality, and fled to France. He arrived during the Revolution, and threw himself with the greatest enthusiasm into the cause of "Liberty." In 1800 he was at Basle, on the staff of General Moreau in the Army of the Rhine, and amused himself and some friends by writing notes on a subject which the preface of the re-edition rightly calls *passablement scabreux;* and as a means of publishing them constructed this fragment, which brings in all the topics on which he had commented, translated it into French, attached his notes, and issued the book. In the Biographie Michaud, s.v. Marchena, there is a story (on the authority of René Alby) that he was reprimanded by Moreau for the authorship of a loose song, on which he assured the general that it was but a translation of a new fragment of Petronius, and two days later had the pamphlet ready to prove his words.

According to Brunet the editors of the Gazette d'Iéna were deceived by the forgery, as well as several German savants. But Marchena was satisfied to have mystified the learned world for a time, and three or four years afterwards admitted the deception. It was not the only occasion in which he turned his undoubted talents to such a purpose: but his lines from the MSS. of Herculaneum were not so easily successful, and on p. 3 of the "Notice sur le Fragmentum Petronii" at the end of the 1865 re-edition we may see how Marchena was mystified in his turn by Eichstaedt and afterwards by Eloy Johanneau. The more austere times of the Restoration

did not suit his particular genius. He returned to Spain, and died at Madrid in great poverty in 1821.[1]

The notes, humorously ascribed to Lallemand, S.T.P., are six in number (all on various forms of vice); and show great knowledge, classical and sociological, of unsavoury subjects; and now that the book is too rare to do any harm, we may admit that the pastiche was not only amusing, but showed a perverse cleverness amounting almost to genius. If the text be examined it will be seen that it is ingeniously composed of words and expressions from various parts of the Satirae, and that in every line it has exactly the Petronian turn of phrase.

The position on the confines of the two centuries is reserved for
102 J. N. M. Deguerle's translation of the poem *de bello civili:* not for the translation itself, which indeed appears adequate enough as far as a foreigner can judge, but for the *Recherches sceptiques*, which seem to be the foundation of all the modern discussions upon the work and personality of Petronius. For the first time nothing is taken for granted, no heed is paid to the tradition which for so many years had graced the title-pages of successive editions with epithets of *Eques Romanus*, *Vir Consularis;* and though there are points in which a critic of the twentieth century cannot agree with Deguerle, his frank and unprejudiced discussion cannot be omitted by anyone who wishes to form a judgment upon the whole question. The *Recherches* were reproduced more than once: in 1816 in a translation
106 of Lucretius, in 1834 in Héguin de Guerle's translation of the complete
108 Satirae, in the Collection Panckoucke, and again from 1861 onwards in Garnier's edition of the same.

The survey of the nineteenth century must necessarily be more incomplete than its predecessors. The multiplication of the interest in Petronius as a writer absolutely unique of his kind, especially during the

(1) A very fairly satisfactory account of Marchena is to be found in Firmin-Didot's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1863. His literary remains are rather creditable to him, including translations into his native tongue of Émile, Julie, the "Lettres Persanes," and Voltaire's *Contes*.

last forty years, has produced an extraordinary number of pamphlets, doctoral theses, programmes, magazine articles, and books in all countries except England. I must here have missed more than in other centuries, but I trust nothing of first-rate importance.

In 1803 is the translation of Citoyen D— (Durand) who need not delay us, 105
as he excels neither in accuracy nor in style. The translation is preceded by long and dull *Lettres sur Pétrone*, which add nothing to our knowledge of the author or his work; but it is not without interest that at the end of his work, in the course of a disquisition on the Matron of Ephesus, he calls attention to the parallel Chinese story, which he relates at length.

In 1804 appeared, with a new title-page, the German translation of 1798; 143
it was published at Leipzig, *in der Sommerschen Buchhandlung;* and two years later we find the first Italian translation for more than 120 years:— *Satire di Tito Petronio Arbitro Cavaliere Romano, volgarizzate col testo a fronte e con note, Brescia, Bettoni, 2 vols.* This is the work of Vincenzo 151
Lancetti, born at Cremona, 1767, a man of a varied career; he emigrated to France in 1799, returned to his native country with the Napoleonic army, and obtained the favour of the Minister of War in the short-lived Italian kingdom. When Milan again fell into Austrian hands, Lancetti was deprived of his post as Keeper of the Military Archives; but receiving a pension he passed the rest of his life in peace and book-collecting, finally dying after a happy old age in 1851 at Milan. This translation so long held the field in Italy that some notice of it is necessary. P. Fanfani, author of a pamphlet (Di Petronio Arbitro e de' suoi traduttori italiani) 243
calls it an "Orribilissima traduzione": but I cannot help thinking that he is belittling it in favour of a manuscript translation in his own possession which he proposed to publish. Good or bad, Lancetti's translation was popular. It was reprinted by Giuseppe Antonelli at Venice in 1843, in the *Biblioteca degli Scrittori Latini*; and to this 152
edition was added a translation of the fragments, by Marcello Tommasini: the commencement (chs. 1–4) of a translation by Professor Luigi Carrer "pubblicato di questi giorni nella Strena italiana," and a

translation of the Matron of Ephesus by the well-known scholar Antonio Cesari, together with letters to his nephew and heir, the Abate Carlo Bologna, Doctor and Professor at Vicenza, written on the subject in
386 1825. This edition was reprinted, without the Latin text, by Daelli at
155 Milan in 1863, in a series called the "Biblioteca Rara."

156 In 1871 appeared a translation by the Cavaliere Cely Colajanni, at Naples; there is a short criticism upon it in Fanfani,[1] and since then G. A. Cesareo, at Florence, has translated Buecheler's text (Sansoni, 1887).
153 This appears to be an adequate and scholarly translation; in De Simone's
157 translation of the Cena, Naples, 1895, the notes seem better than the text.

To return to the chronological order; we may pass over short papers of
182, 184 notes by Suringar and Orioli, and a disquisition—totally erroneous—by
183 Niebuhr on the date of the Satyrae; but a really great scholar turned his mind for a short time to Petronius in 1836: in the Index Lectionum Acad.
188 Turicensis, we find the *Lectiones Petronianae* of Orelli. Besides calling attention to some valuable suggestions in the *Chrestomathia Petronio-Burmanniana*, he for the first time consulted some of the manuscripts at Paris and that at Berne. Some of his conjectures are undoubtedly right, and remain in the text to this day, but perhaps he did more in defending in many instances the text of the Traguriensian fragment when it had been rashly altered by previous editors on the ground of bad Latin. Orelli did at least see that vulgar people were talking in slang, and that many of the alterations proposed would be paralleled, *exempli gratia*, by taking the late Mr. Henley's delightful ballad, "Villon's Straight Tip to all Cross Coves," and going through it, putting a word of good English for every expression unfamiliar to cultivated society.

189 Studer, in his Berne *Lectiones* of 1839, naturally makes especial use of
191 the Bernensis MS.; and four years later followed with an excellent article in the *Rheinisches Museum* in the early years of which also appeared studies
192, 193 from the pens of Ritter and Teuffel; at the same time appeared the first of

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

a series of five tracts by J. G. Moessler, dealing with various points of 190
poetical criticism in Petronius. The tracts are full of good sense, and the interesting part of Dr. Moessler is that he had, so to speak, a Petronian ancestry; for his mother was Amalia Anton, the daughter of the Conrad Gottlob Anton who published the edition of 1781. Accordingly we find him saying (line 70) 'Allexerat me autem Petroniana caussa quum difficultate sua, quam uno omnes ore consentiunt plane singularem esse, tum praecipue eo, quod actorem olim nacta erat avum meum C. G. Antonium, professorem Wittembergensem.'

In 1856 comes the first American contribution to Petronian studies: in Vol. VI of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, Professor Charles Beck published his disquisition on the *Age of Petronius* 196
Arbiter; it is an important work, but too long and discursive.

Space will not allow a description at any great length of the pamphlet and dissertation literature which now begins to increase: in 1861 201
W. Wehle, at Bonn, published some useful *Observationes criticae:* in 1862 we have Beck's publication of *Petronius Arbiter de antiquis dictionibus*—the 387
strange grammarian who has been in the background like a spectre from the early Middle Ages, to such an extent that it is impossible to be certain whether any citation which the later writers made from Petronius might not be from this obscure grammarian whose work is of about as much merit as that of Vergilius Maro Grammaticus; and in 1862 we have Petronius 206
among the *Curiosités Littéraires* of M. Péricaud of Lyons, where a discussion of some mistakes made about the so-called Chalvet[1] translation figures by the side of an account of Nicolas Chorier's attribution of his disreputable works to Aloysia Sigea. But now we have arrived at a very great date in Petronian literature—the publication of Buecheler's 76
Editio Major.

(1) The translation of the *Carmen de bello civili* attributed to M. A. Chalvet was published by Herbert at Marseilles in 1865 from a manuscript which he afterwards 117
presented to the Bibliothèque Impèriale. It also contained the translation of F. Galaup de Chasteuil, of Aix, of which he gives a few specimens: but the greater part of this remains unpublished, and is of little merit. Herbert also gives a translation of a few lines by L. Ayma, a colleague of his own at the Napoléon-Vendée Lycée.

There are plenty of occasions upon which each successive editor must differ from Buecheler in his arrangement of what is at best an uncertain text; but there can never be one who will not look back to his recension as the foundation of all really scientific criticism. M. Collignon[1] is not extravagant in his praise when he says "M. Buecheler, après avoir revu avec une rare conscience les manuscrits et les éditions anciennes, a sur beaucoup de points très heureusement amendé le texte . . . Nul n'a donc au siècle dernier mieux que M. Buecheler préparé la voie aux études ultérieures sur le Satiricon. Nul n'est plus maître de ce sujet." The book consists of 50 pages of introduction; on the personality and date of Petronius; an account of the MSS.; and an account of previous editions. Then follows the text, with a very full apparatus criticus, the fragments, and an Index Nominum
77 completes the volume. An *Editio Minor* was published in the same year,
78, 79, of which there were new editions in 1871, 1882 (reprinted 1895), and 1904;
81, 83 but these are of far less value to the critic, as they lack the introduction and the larger part of the Apparatus. There is added, however, a valuable *Conspectus Satirarum*, a *Sermonis Satirarum specimen (proverbia glossemata rusticana)*, and it is certainly convenient to have in the same volume the Priapeia, the remaining fragments of Varro's Menippean Satires, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, the *Leges Conviviales*, the *Testamentum Porcelli* and similar remains. In the last edition a welcome return has been made to the old plan of numbering sections as well as chapters, for convenience of citation.
208 In the following year, 1863, Beck published his elaborate collation of the MSS. which must be indispensable, with Buecheler's edition, to all future editors.

225 In 1869 J. E. Pétrequin published at Lyons his important book on
226 Petronius, which I have mentioned before,[2] and in the same year E. Ludwig published at Marburg his dissertation *De Petronii sermone plebeio*, which has been the foundation of much modern work on Vulgar Latin, and which was usefully supplemented in 1875 by A. von Guericke's study of the relations of
237 the Vulgar Latin in Petronius with that in the wall-inscriptions at Pompeii.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 118. (2) p. 144.

Meanwhile, in 1874, Gaston Boissier published in the *Revue des Deux* 233
Mondes his valuable appreciation *Un Roman de Moeurs sous Néron*, which afterwards appeared as a chapter of his book *L'Opposition sous les Césars.* It has all the best qualities of French scholarship: perfect lucidity combined with a literary appreciation of the niceties of style, unapproachable by any other nation. Boissier has another short study of Petronius, besides the two mentioned on this page—a comparison with Apuleius, in ch. VI of *L'Afrique Romaine.*

The great Mommsen treated a small point in *Hermes* of 1878, by an 246
examination which he calls *Trimalchios Heimath und Grabschrift*, and incidentally dwells on the date of the Satirae; 1880 saw Segebade's notes 254
appear at Halle, and in 1887 Cesareo published a most valuable treatise on 272
the linguistic study of the vulgar speech; in this year also Krohn disserted 273
on the poems attributed to Petronius in the Anthology, and successfully restored to him some of those pronounced pseudepigraphic by Buecheler. In 1891 H. W. Haley, of Harvard, wrote 40 pages of *Quaestiones* 280
Petronianae in which he does not add much that is new, but sums up successfully the two debated questions as to the date of Petronius and the locality of the Feast; of this L. Friedlaender published his edition in the 80
same year, with a German translation. His explanatory notes have been the basis of all editions up to the present moment, and his second edition 86
appeared in 1906. He possesses in an extraordinary degree the power of making a perfectly clear explanation in very few words, and makes use of a very great store of learning with no ostentation. The book was delightfully reviewed by Boissier, with some discussion of the Feast, in the *Journal des* 287
Savants.

A very careful study of Petronius from the literary point of view
appeared in the following year from A. Collignon, then of Nancy University, 284
now of the Sorbonne. All possible traces of parody or imitation are most carefully examined, and if the results at which he arrives are often negative, much is to be said to the credit of his caution in dealing with a thorny subject. He, of all living men, has probably the greatest feeling for

Petronius, the truest appreciation of the character displayed in his writings: Mr. Charles Whibley has not devoted as much time to this writer, or he would approach M. Collignon nearly: both are considerably ahead of any of the German scholars, though the learning of the latter is profounder, in the power to take the small points which differentiate Petronius from his
291 predecessors and those who came after him. In the following year M. Collignon also published a pamphlet on Petronius in the Middle Ages and in France, the latter half of which he greatly enlarged and issued under
342 the title of *Pétrone en France* in 1905. Similarly E. Thomas' *L'envers de la*
285 *Société Romaine*, which first came out in 1892, became the foundation for
330 the same professor's larger book on the subject in 1902; and in 1893 his
292 namesake P. Thomas, at Ghent, published a suggestive little study named *Le Réalisme dans Pétrone* in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique.*

The Italians now begin to treat of an author they should never have neglected: Cesareo has been mentioned, Fanfani spoke of former Italian
294, 310 translations; Cocchia in 1893 and 1897 discussed the place and customs of
157 the Feast; and in 1894 de Simone, at Naples, translated the Cena as a kind
300, 301, 302 of appendix to his study of the Satirae. Sogliano in 1896 attempted
309 unsuccessfully to return to Niebuhr's late date for Petronius, and Margaritori
324 wrote *Ricerche biographiche* at Vercelli in 1897. Enia in 1899 and Ussani
339 in 1905 are both stimulating and by their knowledge of local Italian words and customs are able to throw light in some dark places. 1898 saw the
316 production of that most valuable aid to the editor or critic—the *Lexicon Petronianum* of Segebade and Lommatzsch. At this time also appeared Mr. Whibley's book to which reference has several times been made; his
317 Essay on Petronius in *Studies in Frankness* is the one and only English appreciation of any value whatever, and it has been curiously neglected.
319 Fisch at Berlin held that the Feast took place at Tarracina and that Trimalchio represented Galba, some years before he was Emperor, but he does not seem to have found anybody to agree with him; and the next year
322 a new line was struck out by W. Heraeus, who illustrated the curious expressions of Petronius from the Glossaries, and by their help succeeded

in elucidating some passages and emending others. In 1902 W. E. Waters, of New York, produced the Cena as a school-book, founding his notes almost wholly on Friedlaender, and the same was done in England in 1905 by W. D. Lowe and Michael J. Ryan; both of these contain translations. 82 84, 85

In England, the Bohn translation long held the field. It was by Walter K. Kelly, first published in 1854, and several times repeated under various dates. By no stretch of imagination can it be called a good translation, though it is not inaccurate; but there is no vigour, and the merits of Addison's translation, which Kelly followed closely, are often watered down and palliated by a change to weak modern English. Some of the poetical passages are also taken from Burnaby's translation. 129

In 1898 was published a fairly good English translation of the Cena, by Harry Thurston Peck, at New York. It also contains a valuable introduction dealing with Petronius and the ancient novel generally, and a short bibliography; and some very bad pictures of Roman houses and imaginary Roman life. Hear him translate: 132

> "Oh!" said he, "that's Trimalchio's wife. Her name is Fortunata. She has money to burn now, but a little while ago what do you suppose she was? Your honour will excuse me for saying so, but really in those days you wouldn't have taken a piece of bread from her hand. And now, without rhyme or reason, she's at the top notch and is all the world to Trimalchio,—in fact, if she should say it was night at noonday, he'd believe her. As for Trimalchio himself, he's so rich that he doesn't know how much money he's got; but this jade has an eye to everything, even the things you wouldn't think about yourself. She doesn't drink, she's as straight as a string—in fact, a really smart woman; but she has an awfully sharp tongue, a regular magpie on a perch. If she likes anyone, she likes him way down to the ground, and if she doesn't like him, she just hates him!"

This is good and vigorous, and in spite of an occasional Americanism, idiomatic vulgar talk. It is the best translation of the Cena that has yet appeared, but no rendering of the conversation can be final, as it must always be in the slang of the hour. For instance, Peck's translation of "bellum pomum" by "he's a daisy" was good enough in 1898; we should now be inclined to say "he's a peach." I believe that better still might be done by Mr. George Ade, the writer of "Fables in Slang."

134 In 1902 appeared in Paris a complete translation of Petronius, published by Charles Carrington. There is no translator's name on the title-page. Now Mr. Carrington has published a good many English books of a disreputable type, and I fear it must be at once confessed that the translation was undertaken with the worst motives. However, it must be examined on its merits, and curiously enough, it is not so bad as one might have expected. The paper and typography are excellent. The translator makes free use of Addison's version, but rashly assumes that it was by Joseph Addison, and enlarges upon the subject in his preface; his bibliography too, which consists only of about 30 volumes, is full of mistakes and misapprehensions. The translator used a very bad text; in fact, it looks from some of the turns of expression as if this translation was made from the French, not from the Latin. It contains the Nodotian Supplements. There is one more point of interest connected with the volume. When the publisher sent it out, he enclosed a loose printed slip with the words "This translation was made by Sebastian Melmoth." If this were true, it would be important; for that was the name used by Oscar Wilde in his latter days in Paris. But we cannot accept it. The style is not good enough, and the publisher when challenged was unable to produce a single shred of manuscript; and his word alone is hardly sufficient.

Of the translations in Lowe's and Ryan's editions, the former is a little flat; Ryan is more successful, but he does not keep very close to the Latin text. He is perhaps at his best in the two chapters where Hermeros abuses Ascyltos and Giton with a wealth of opprobrious slang.

144 German translations were neither many, nor, until the days of
145 Friedlaender, satisfactory. One was published in Berlin in 1843, but we hear no good of it from any of the later German writers; in 1844 there appeared in Jahn's *Archiv* a translation by Wellauer, which has the merit of extreme accuracy. In 1845 appeared the first part or section of a
136 translation, published by Ende at Berlin, but it was only a Probe-Heft, and although it states on the cover that the second and third parts would follow as soon as possible, no more ever appeared. We find a

translation at Stuttgart in 1874, which has the exceptional merit of being translated from Buecheler's text and not from any of the old bad editions, and in 1876 an important rendering of the Cena was done by Merkens at Jena. He really seems to have taken trouble to seek the appropriate equivalent in German, and in some passages is quite successful. 146 147

Friedlaender in both his editions (1891 and 1906) has placed a translation on every page opposite the text. It is scholarly, and a great help in construing, or seeing Friedlaender's own meaning in his notes, but it never rises above a certain level. There is no fire in it, but it is good honest German literature, and it would take a long time to make up another so useful to the casual reader. 80, 86

The only Spanish translation which I know bears no date, but I bought it as a new book in Madrid in May, 1906. It is called "Nueva edición" and "Traducion directa del latin," which seems to show that there had been previous editions, some, perhaps, from the French. But nothing seems to be known of them, though perhaps enquiries in the public libraries of Spain might produce some result. It is very inaccurate, or rather, makes no attempt to represent the Latin if the slightest difficulty occurs. Take a test passage from chapter 37_2: "La esposa," me dijo, "de Trimalción, la cual se llama Fortunata y no podia tener mejor nombre, porque ha sido ciertamente afortunada." *Quae nummos modio metitur* seems to have been too much for the translator, who makes up a foolish tale that she is rightly so called because of her luck. I am not a sufficiently good Spanish scholar, however, to judge of the merits of the style and the translation. The Nodotian Supplements are translated without a word of warning as to their spurious nature. 159

Almost the most curious use to which Petronius was ever put was that of a tract for a body of communistic socialists in Oneida, U.S.A. In 1866 there appeared in New York a most extraordinary little volume. Before the title-page occurs a single leaf on the recto of which is an account of the "Pleasure Cure": on the verso, "READ THIS FIRST. The Satyricon 130

shows more plainly than any other book, how abominably depraved human nature has become under the Social System that has been experimented with ever since the human race began. The Satyricon has been translated into every civilized language, and very extensively circulated. But no edition, except this, contains the *antidote* along with the *bane*. The reader will find the *antidote* in the Appendix under the title GOOD. This edition of the *Satyricon* is republished from the standard English edition of Henry G. Bohn, in the Congress Library; so the reader may confidently rely on its being a correct translation." The title-page runs:—*The Satyricon: or, Trebly Voluptuous. By Titus Petronius Arbiter, Minister of Pleasure to the Emperor Nero.* Since then, we know we must die, why do we not make the most of life? New York: published by Calvin Blanchard, "1866." Vulgar Era. There is another book by Mr. Blanchard in the British Museum, with the title "Theo-political Physics," in which he expounds socialistic and atheistic views. He seems also to have combined his sociology with the sale of pornographical works, if I may judge from the list of books published by him. After this promising beginning, we have Bohn's translation, with occasional notes by Mr. Blanchard, chiefly directed against the marriage-laws of the United States: and at the end is an Appendix, in which he propounds communistic views, often in the coarsest language. Finally, on p. 17 of the new pagination we have the solution: In Oneida, New York, there is a sect of Christians calling themselves Communists. They enjoy all things belonging to themselves in common .... their own selves are thus free: "marriage" they utterly repudiate. They cultivate 561 acres of land .... they have over 200 members .... they live in a very elegant mansion .... in "1857" their net capital was 41 thousand dollars: in "1865" it was nearly 23 millions. The description is too long to reproduce—suffice it to say that it is a Platonic community with goods and women held in common, and according to Mr. Blanchard will supply the physique and brains of the future world. What has happened to the Oneida communists? Perhaps they still exist: Mr. Blanchard's book at least remains as a monument of unconscious but somewhat coarse humour.

Another curious use to which Petronius has been put is to make

specimens for a printing press. The Vale Press, which was founded by Charles Ricketts to carry on to some extent the traditions of William Morris, used pages of Petronius to show their various founts. There is a folio in the "King's Fount," which is not particularly beautiful, containing Petronius 31–33$_{9}$, and the little quarto bibliography published by Mr. Ricketts in 1904, after the demise of the Press, contains three specimens, all from Petronius, showing the three founts in use. 392, 393

Petronius was not much read or admired in England during the XIX century; certainly much less so than during its predecessor. W. S. Landor in the *Pentameron* suggested a far Eastern origin for the *Matron of Ephesus*, and quoted, as "the most beautiful sentence in all Latinity" the phrase *gratias ago languori tuo, quo diutius sub umbra voluptatis lusimus*[1]: he equally condemned *curiosa felicitas* as an "unhappy and absurd expression." As for the whole work, he mentions the sentence just quoted, saying "Tear this out from the volume; the rest both prose and poetry, may be thrown away." Dante Gabriel Rossetti translated a short passage, which appears in his collected works as a fragment. It is from the end of ch. 48:

I saw the Sibyl at Cumae
(One said) with mine own eye,
She hung in a cage, and read her rune
To all the passers-by.
Said the boys "what wouldst thou, Sibyl?"
She answered, "I would die."

There are several Dictionaries or Histories, either of Rome or of Roman literature, in all of which something is said about Petronius as courtier or author; and brief reference may be made to two books published in the last five years: Mr. Bernard Henderson's *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, in which there is a careful appreciation of Petronius, pp. 291–294, and a small but useful bibliography, p. 505; and Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, of which chapters 2 and 3, "The World of the Satirist," and "The Society of the Freedmen" owe much to the contemporary description of Society by our author. In fact the whole latter part of the last chapter of the two, pp. 120–137, is a description of Trimalchio's Feast and the kind of people met at such a dinner-party.

(1) This is a misquotation, though it does not spoil the original, of ch. 129, *si libidinosa essem, quererer decepta; nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago: in umbra voluptatis diutius lusi.*

Of the novels dealing with the times of Nero that have appeared in England during the last half of the XIX century, the most read has been the late Dean Farrar's *Darkness and Dawn*. It was first published in 1891, and went through ten editions in the first three years—in fact, it is being reprinted still. It is not such a great book as *Quo Vadis?*; but nevertheless it combines an exciting story with a most interesting picture of Roman life of the day, especially the lower class of society in which the Christians moved; it is as good a book as could possibly be given for a school prize. It may be worth while examining the character which is given to Petronius. He appears early in the book as a companion of the Emperor—"the brilliant Petronius Arbiter, a man of refined culture and natural wit, but the most cynically shameless liver and talker even in Rome." Nero, to show his appreciation of his literary qualities, gives him an agate ring from the spoils of Pyrrhus engraved with Apollo and the Muses. The next time we find him he is advising Nero to send away the respectable fogies, such as Pliny, Persius, and Silius Italicus, and to replace them by the dancers Paris and Aliturus—"Let us dismiss this humbug of respectability and pluck the blossom of the days." He is made a kindly and peaceable character—"If I am to be the *arbiter elegantiarum*, I will allow no quarrels"; and the poem in the *Satyricon* which describes the taking and burning of Troy is made to serve a curious purpose; Petronius recites it to Nero, and that is the origin in the Emperor's mind of his scheme for setting Rome afire as the subject for a poem! The next time Petronius appears, it is in a character that he would be the first to reject—the composer of one of the foolish lines which read alike forwards and backwards—think how the author of the Satirae would have despised such a trick of rhetoricians and sophisters! The account of his death follows very closely that in Tacitus. Curiously enough Dean Farrar has used the names and personal descriptions of two of the most disreputable persons in the *Satyricon* for his hero and heroine,—two Christian slaves! Petronius does not figure largely in the book; but when he does appear he is not hopelessly unlike—he is not the benevolent uncle of comedy as he appears in *Quo Vadis?* His character in this book is

admirably criticized by M. Collignon in a little review at the end of "Pétrone en France," and by M. Émile Thomas. 331, 342 330

Collignon's review of modern French writers may be supplemented in one point: he mentions Anatole France as a reader and admirer of Petronius; and in at least one passage an actual imitation may be shown. It is in *La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pedauque:* during the famous supper with M. d'Anquetil and Catharine la Dentellière. If it is not too far-fetched, one may even imagine one sees some similarity in the characters: the Abbé Jérome Coignard will represent one of the older characters of the Satirae, who accompanies the heroes and gives them the benefit of his sentiments and advice—either Agamemnon or Menelaus; M. d'Anquetil and Jacque Tournebroche are Ascyltos and Encolpius, and Catharine of course represents Giton. M. d'Anquetil had just finished pouring the wine over Catharine to make her into a nymph or naiad, when

à ce même moment nous entendîmes des coups frappés avec le marteau de la porte dans la silence de la nuit. Nous en demeurâmes soudain immobiles et muets comme des convives enchantés . . . M. d'Anquetil rompit le premier le silence en se demandant tout haut, avec d'affreux jurements, quel pouvait bien être ce fâcheux. (p. 211).

Sed ut primum beneficio Gitonis preparata nos implevimus cena, ostium non satis audaci strepitu exsonuit impulsum . . . cum et ipsi ergo pallidi rogaremus, quis esset, "aperi" inquit "jam scies." (Ch. 16₁).

The Abbé Jérome Coignard, in the volume of his opinions, speaking of humanity in ancient times, says "Senèque . . . qui pourtant était enclin à la douceur, comparait des traités pleins d'élégance pendant qu'a Rome, près de lui . . . l'esclave Mithridate . . . mourut les mains clouées, coupable seulement d'avoir blasphémé la divinité de son maître, l'infâme Trimalcion." We may also note that the professor, M. Bergeret, the hero of the series called by the general title of *Histoire Contemporaine*, was forced against his will to give lessons on the eighth book of the Aeneid, whereas his fastidious taste allowed him little pleasure in any of the Classics except Catullus and Petronius.

I have observed in a modern French novel[1] the expression "Tu pétronises!" uttered by a jealous wife to a fashionable doctor whom she

(1) Michel Provins, *Dialogues d'Amour.*

suspected of knowing his lady patients too well. I may also quote Guy de Maupassant in a newspaper article[1] called *Histoire des Soirées le Médan.* "Mais P. Alexis nous fit attendre quatre jours, ne trouvant pas de sujet. Il voulait nous raconter des histoires de Prussiens souillant des cadavres. Notre exaspération le fit taire, et il finit par imaginer l'amusante anecdote d'une grande dame allant ramasser son mari mort sur un champ de bataille et se laissant attendrir par un pauvre soldat blessé. Et ce soldat était un prêtre!!" Catulle Mendès also founded a story on the *Matron of Ephesus*—"L'Amour et la Mort."[2] He says "Le néant veut qu'on aime. Non, ce n'est pas un vain conte que l'histoire—exquise et sinistre—de la matrone d'Ephése! Les larmes des plus fidèles veuves veulent être séchées par des souffles épris."

Once outside England and France, I must confess that any account of Petronius in literature must needs be most imperfect. In Germany Nietzsche knew and admired him: he even dares to compare Petronius with the Christian ideal of the New Testament. This is in *Der Wille zur Macht.*[3]

111. Heidnisch—christlich. Heidnisch ist das Jasagen zum Natürlichen das Unschuldsgefühl im Natürlichen, "die Natürlichkeit." Christlich ist das Neinsagen zum Natürlichen, das Unwürdigkeits-Gefühl im Natürlichen, die Widernatürlichkeit.

"Unschuldig" ist z.B. Petronius: ein Christ hat im Vergleich mit diesem Glücklichen ein für alle Mal die Unschuld verloren. Da aber zuletzt auch der christliche *status* bloss ein Naturzustand sein muss, sich aber nicht als solchen begreifen darf, so bedeutet "christlich" eine zum Prinzip erhobene Falschmünzerei der psychologischen Interpretation . . .

123. Wie wenig liegt am Gegenstand! Der Geist ist es, der lebendig macht! Welche kranke und verstockte Luft mitten aus all dem aufgeregten Gerede von "Erlösung," Liebe, Seligkeit, Glaube, Wahrheit, "ewigem

(1) *Le Gaulois*, 17 April, 1880. (2) *Le Confessional*, 1892, p. 125.
(3) Werke, Leipzig, 1901, Vol. XV.

Leben"! Man nehme einmal ein eigentlich heidnisches Buch dagegen, z. B. Petronius, wo im Grunde Nichts gethan, gesagt, gewollt und geschätzt wird, was nicht, nach einem christlich-muckerischen Werthmass, Sünde, selbst Todsünde ist. Und trotzdem: welches Wohlgefühl in der reineren Luft, der überlegenen Geistigkeit des schnelleren Schrittes, der freigewordenen und überschüssigen zukunftsgewissen Kraft! Im ganzen neuen Testament kommt keine einzige *bouffonerie* vor: aber damit ist ein Buch widerlegt . . .

We can hardly be expected to agree with this judgment, which is somewhat blasphemous: but a finer feeling is shown in a passage from *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*,[1] which has the additional merit of being true.

28. Der Deutsche ist beinahe des *presto* in seiner Sprache unfähig: also, wie man billig schliessen darf, auch vieler der ergötzlichsten und verwegensten *nuances* des freien, freigeisterischen Gedankens. So gut ihm der *buffo* und der Satyr fremd ist, in Leib und Gewissen, so gut ist ihm Aristophanes und Petronius unübersetzbar . . . . . Wer endlich dürfte gar eine deutche Uebersetzung des Petronius wagen, der, mehr als irgend ein grosser Musiker bisher, der Meister des *Presto* gewesen ist, in Erfindungen, Einfällen, Worten.

Even in far Russia Petronius is read: one of the best modern novelists, Dmitry de Merejkowsky, takes more than one scene from the Satirae. In *The Death of the Gods*, which deals with Julian the Apostate, chapter VI, Gallus, Julian's brother, goes out into the streets in disguise, taking the Petronian name of Agamemnon. He listens to the talk of the people, among whom he hears an old man saying "The price of bread goes up every day—men die like flies" (a sentence from the *Satyricon*), and enquires his name with a view to punishing him in the future; a little later, hearing the hoarse strains of an hydraulic organ he makes his way to a doorway, where a blind slave, for four obols a day, pumped the water to work the mechanism. Pushing his way in he finds a kind of café chantant: a

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. VII.

lantern threw light on a black-board, on which was chalked the programme of the day in Greek and Syriac; the air was hot and oppressive, reeking of garlic and charcoal fumes; besides the organ, two flutes were playing, and an Ethiopian, rolling white eyes, beat a tambourine, while a dancer ran and postured on a tight-rope, singing the song that was in fashion at the time "Huc, huc, convenite nunc . . . Spatalocinaedi! Pedem tendite, cursum addite . . . ." (23_3). He was thin, shameless, old, disgusting, and gay: drops of sweat and grease ran down his forehead: the wrinkles on his face, plastered with white lead, looked like cracks in a wall that is crumbling in the rain. When he had finished, the flutes and the organ were silent: on the platform appeared a girl, a child of 15 years of age, to dance the cordax, the favourite dance of the people. The Fathers of the Church anathematized it, the law forbade it—all in vain. The cordax continued to be performed, by wives of Senators and by street dancers (52_8). Agamemnon murmured with enthusiasm, "What a pretty girl!" The next two pages are taken up with a description of the cordax: Agamemnon interviews the proprietor of the cabaret, and takes the girl, whose name is Phyllis, to a temple of Priapus, of which he had seen that the door was open, in the next street. Suddenly from the interior of it were heard hissings, and the flapping of wings raised such a draught that their lamp was nearly put out. Agamemnon left hold of Phyllis and stammered "What is that?" In the darkness white forms glided, like apparitions. Seized with a definite fear Agamemnon crossed himself. "What is it? May the most holy Cross protect us!" Something pinched his leg. He cried out with pain and fear: then, he seized one of his unknown enemies by the throat, stabbed another with his dagger. Deafening cries arose, followed by shufflings and repeated flapping of wings. The lamp flickered again, and Phyllis cried out: "They are the ganders, the holy ganders of Priapus: what have you done to them?" Pale and trembling, the conqueror was standing with his bloody dagger in one hand, the murdered gander in the other. A crowd bearing torches rushed howling into the temple, led by the old priestess Scabra. "Help, help, the temple is profaned—the holy ganders of Priapus are

killed—Hold him—These accursed, impious Christians." Suffice it to say that his disguise is discovered, Phyllis wisely slips away, and he is only rescued just in time by the Imperial Lictors. It may be observed also that his courier is called Norbanus, another name from the Satirae. The whole of this episode, curiously adapted to Christian times, is taken from our author, in which the murder of the sacred gander forms an important part of the plot.

My task is almost at an end, for since 1900 there has not been any work of very great importance beyond new editions of Buecheler's and Friedlaender's works. There is the new French translation by M. Laurent Tailhade, poet and anarchist, which is, as he boasts in the Preface dated from the *Prison de la Santé* "libre de tous voiles et purifié du badigeon académique." He had shewn his intimate knowledge of his author in a previous work, *Au Pays du Mufle*, but a curious pedantry in the retention of technical terms in their original Latin (*e.g.*, *sudarium*, *triclinium*, *flammeum*, *pallium*) spoils the pleasure of reading the translation. An *édition de luxe* with coloured illustrations by Georges Rochegrasse, is announced from Paris. The Petronian fragments have been twice dealt with from an artistic point of view; there is an edition of a few of them with a French translation and some pretty drawings by M. Jérome Doucet, the whole forming one of those *éditions de luxe* so dear to the French bibliophile: it is a curious accident that not a single one of those chosen for M. Doucet to illustrate could possibly have been the work of Petronius himself, but were part of the Catalecta wrongly ascribed to Petronius by successive editors of the XVI and XVII centuries. In Germany, too, a strange edition of the fragments has been produced: a translation of all of them, genuine and supposititious alike, into German: this is printed in capital letters, not only on one side of the page alone, but only on the bottom half of the page, forming the strangest monument of the Modernste Kunst. From Munich comes another reprint of Heinse's translation, edited by Karl Hauer, with very fanciful illustrations by Franz Christophe.

83, 86 118 121 119 149 150

I do not claim Petronius as one of the great names of the world's literature; but his works show him as an amiable scoundrel. Apart from the purely linguistic value, which is very great, of the slang to be found in the "Trimalchio's Feast," the picture of low life in Southern Italy during the first century of our era is quite without parallel in classical literature: I believe that he will be read as long as the sense of humour itself endures, and I hope that it will not be decided, with the German critic whom I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, that my time had better have been employed on some serious writer—such as Seneca!

SHORT-TITLE HAND-LIST.

[I have not included articles in Encyclopædias, Dictionaries, or Histories of Literature; and I have not made a separate entry for off-prints from Periodicals unless provided with a separate title-page and new pagination.]

A.—EDITIONS.

1. (*c.* 1482). Panegyrici Veteres. Milan, A. Zarotus. (Petronius, Sig. u_2 to end.)
2. 1499. Dio Chrysostomus ad Ilienses, Petronius. Venice, Bernardus de Vitalibus.
3. 1500. Petronius, Satyra, ed. Herman Buschius. Leipzig, Jac. Tanner. (The Carmen de Bello Civili.)
4. 1508. No. 3 reprinted.
5. 1517. Petronius, Satyra. Vienna, I. Singrenius. (Again only the Carmen.)
6. 1520. Petronius, Satyrae fragmentum. Paris, Regnault-Chaudière.
7. 1565. Petronius, Satyrici fragmenta, ed. Io. Sambucus. Antwerp, Chr. Plantin.
8. 1565. Another state of No. 7. Page 62 numbered in left hand corner, instead of right, and different ornament at foot of page 63.
9. 1575. Petronii Satyricon. Lyons, Io. Tornaesius.
10. 1577. Petronii Satyricon. Paris, Mamertus Patissonius. (Ed. P. Pithou.)
11. 1585. Petronii Satyricon, ed. Ian Dousa. (Always bound with No. 160, which may be an integral part of the book, but is dated two years earlier.) Leyden, Io. Paetsius.
12. 1585. Satyricon Petronii, ed. Io. Ricardus. (Contained Dousa's *Praecidanea*, which is wrongly dated, on a separate title-page, 1535.) Paris, Guil. Linocerius.

13. 1587. Petronii Satyricon. Paris, Mam. Patissonius. (No. 10 revised and enlarged.)

14. 1587. Satyricon Petronii. Paris, Guil. Linocerius. (No. 12 revised and enlarged.)

15. 1594. Petronii Satyricon. (Leyden), ex off. Plantiniana Raphelengii.

16. 1596. Petronii Satyricon. Leyden, ex off. Plant. apud Franc. Raphelengium.

17. 1601. Petronii Satyricon, cum notis variorum. Paris, Christ. Beys.

18. 1601. The same edition. Paris, Stephanus Valletus.

19. 1601. The same edition. Paris, Vidua Guil. Chaudière.

20. 1601. The same edition. Paris, P. L. Febvrier.

21. 1604. Petronii Satyricon. (Leyden), ex off. Plant. Raphelengii. (Ed. Wouweren.)

22. 1608. Petronii Satyricon. Lyons, Paul Frellon.

23. 1610. Petronii Satyricon. Frankfort, Io. Bringer for I. Th. Schönwetter. (Ed. Melchior Goldastus.)

24. 1612. Petronii Satyricon. (Leyden), ex off. Plant. Raphelengii.

25. 1615. Petronii Satyricon. Lyons, Paul Frellon. (No. 22, slightly enlarged.)

26. 1618. Petronii Satyricon, ed. Io. Bourdelotius. Paris, Isaac Mesnier.

27. 1618. Petronii Satyricon. Lyons, Paul Frellon. (No. 25, slightly altered.)

28. 1621. Petronii Satyricon. Frankfort, in off. Wecheliana, apud Dan. et Dav. Aubrios & Clem. Schleichium. (A reprint of No. 23. The notes have a separate title-page.)

29. 1623. Petronii Satyricon. Leyden, Io. Maire. (A reprint of No. 21.)

(30.) 1624. Petronii Satyricon. Amsterdam. (No. 29, reprinted.)

(31.) 1624. Petronii Satyricon. Amsterdam, Guil. Caesius.

(Both these editions depend at present on the Bipontine *Notitia Literaria*, and I have not yet found copies.)

32. 1626. Petronii Satyricon. Amsterdam, Guil. I. Caesius.

33. 1629. Petronii Satyricon. Io. Mercerius. (Geneva, ed. Th. de Juges.)

34. 1629. Petronii Satyricon, ed. I. A. Gons. de Salas. Frankfort, W. Hofmann.

35. 1629. Petronii Satyricon, ed. J. P. Lotichius. Frankfort, W. Hofmann for Luc. Jennisius.

36. 1634. Petronii Satyricon. Amsterdam, Io. Ianssonius. (A reprint of No. 32.)

37. 1643. No. 34, reprinted at Frankfort by Joh. David Zunner.

38. 1645. Petronii Satyricon, ed Bourdelot. Paris.

39. 1645. Petronii Satyricon, ed. D^{i}. S.S. Leyden, Iustus Livius.

40. 1654. Petroni Satyricon, ed. S. A. Gabbema. Utrecht, Zyll and Ackersdyck.

41. 1663. Petronii Satyricon, ed. R. Hermannides. Amsterdam, A. I. Valckenier.

42. 1664. Petronii Fragmentum Trag. Padua, P. Frambotti.

43. 1664. ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΟΝ ex Petronii Satirico. Paris, E. Martin. (Ed. Jac. Mentel.)

44. 1665. Petronii Fragmentum, ed. Io. Scheffer. Upsala, Henr. Curio.

45. 1666. Petroni Fragmentum, ed. Th. Reinesius. Leipzig, Chr. Michael for Sigismund Cörner.

46. 1667. Petronii Fragmentum. Nuremberg, M. and J. F. Endteri.

(47.) 1668. Petronii Fragmentum, ed. Gio. Lucio.

(48.) 1669. No. 47, reprinted.

(Both these rest only on the authority of the Bipontine *Notitia Literaria*, and I have not yet found copies.)

49. 1669. Petronii Satyricon, ed. M. Hadrianides. Amsterdam, Io. Blaeu.

50. 1670. Petronii Fragmentum. Amsterdam, Io. Blaeu. (Ed. Gio. Lucio.)

51. 1671. No. 50, reprinted.

52. 1677. Petronii Satyricon. Paris, Claude Audinet. (Ed. Adrien de Valois.)

53. 1677. Petronii Satyricon, ed. Io. Boschius. Amsterdam, Adr. Gaesbequius.

(1683.) An error for 1693 in some copies of No. 60.

(54.) 1687. Petronii Satyricon. (No. 49, reprinted; on the authority of Fabricius.)

55. 1690. (Second edition of No. 53.)

(56.) 1691. Petronii Satyricon. Cologne. (Doubtful. Due to Bipont. *Not. Lit.*)

57. 1692. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragmentis Alb. Graec. Rotterdam, Regn. Leers.

58. 1693. Petronii Satyricon. London, A. and J. Churchill.

59. 1693. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragm. Paris, J. B. Langlois.

60. 1693. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragm. Paris, Th. Moete. (Some copies dated 1683.)

61. 1693. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragm. Rotterdam, Regn. Leers. (Second edition of No. 57.)

62. 1700. Petronii Satyricon. Amsterdam, J. Wolters.

63. 1701. Petronii Satyricon (expurgatum), ed. J. Bosius. Jena, Io. Bielke.

64. 1702. Petronii Satyricon, ed. J. Min-Ellius. Jena, Io. Bielke.

65. 1707. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragm. London, J. N. for G. Wale and Edmund Curll.

66. 1709. Petronii Satyricon, ed. P. Burmann. Utrecht, G. vande Water.

67. 1711. Petronii Satyricon, cum fragm. London, E. Curll. (Re-issue of No. 65.)

68. 1731. Petronii Satyricon, cum. fragm. Leipzig, Casp. Fritsch.

69. 1743. No. 66, re-edited by Caspar Burmann. Amsterdam, apud Iansonio-Waesbergios.

70. 1781. Petronii Satyricon, cum suppl., ed. C. G. Anton. Leipzig, C. Fritsch.

71. 1785. Petronii Satyricon, et fragm. Berlin, I. Fr. Unger. (Edited by the Count de Rewiczksy.)

72. 1790. Petronii Satiricon, cum suppl. Biponti, ex typ. soc.

73. 1790. Petronii Satyricon. Paris, Barbou. (Ed. Richard Lallement.)

74. (1796–1800.) Petroni Satyricon. Paris, Beaudouin. (Ed. La Porte du Theil.)

75. 1797. Petronii Satyricon. Paris, C. Crapelet for A. A. Renouard.

(1804). An error for 1904 in some copies of No. 83.

76. 1862. Petronii Satirarum rel., ed. Fr. Buecheler. Berlin, Weidmanni.

77. 1862. Editio minor of No. 76.

78. 1871. Petronii Satirae, ed. Fr. Buecheler. Berlin, Weidmanni. (Second edition of No. 77.)

79. 1882. Third edition of No. 78.

80. 1891. Petronii, Cena Trimalch., ed. L. Friedlaender. Leipzig, S. Hirzel.

81. 1895. New impression of No. 79.

82. 1902. Petronius, Cena Trimalch., ed. W. E. Waters. Boston, B. H. Sanborn.

83. 1904. Fourth edition of No. 81. (In some copies the cover—not the title-page—is wrongly dated MDCCCIV.)

84. 1905. Petronii Cena Trimalch., ed. W. D. Lowe. Cambridge, Deighton Bell.

85. 1905. Petronius, Cena Trimalch., ed. M. J. Ryan. London and Felling-on-Tyne, the Walter Scott Publishing Co.

86. 1906. Second edition of No. 80.

86A. 1909. Petr. cena Trimalchionis (Sammlung vulgärlat. Texte), ed. W. Heraeus. Heidelberg, Carl Winter.

B.—TRANSLATIONS.

Latin and French.

87. 1654. Lucain, avec le Poème de Pétrone, par M[ichel D[e] M[arolles] A[bbé] D[e] V[illeloin]. Paris, Guil. de Luyne. (Some copies dated 1655.)

88. 1667. Pétrone en vers, par M. L. D. B. Paris, Claude Barbin. (Also by de Marolles.)

89. 1694. Satyre de Pétrone. Cologne, Pierre Marteau.*

90. 1694. Traduction de plusieurs pièces .... de Pétrone: par M. Nodot. Paris, T. Moëte. (Grenoble.)

91. 1694. Traduction entière de Pétrone. Cologne, Pierre Groth.

92. 1694. Another form of No. 91. Red printing on title-page, Illustrations, Table des Matières.

93. 1695. Re-impression (imitation?) of No. 89.

94. 1698. Pétrone Latin et François. (No place or printer.)

95. 1709. Pétrone Latin et François. (Re-edition, no place or printer.)

96. 1713. Re-impression of No. 95.

* All these translations with Cologne imprint were probably printed in France. According to H. de Terrebasse (No. 276) those with the imprint *Pierre Groth* were printed at Grenoble by J. Verdier for A. Giroud.

97. 1726. Histoire secrette de Néron, par M. Lavaur. Paris, Ganeau et Quillau.

98. 1736. Pétrone Latin et François. Amsterdam, aux dépens de la compagnie. (Re-edition of No. 96. Probably in France.)

99. 1737. Poème de Pétrone. (Bouhier) Amsterdam, Fr. Changnion.

100. 1738. Recueil de trad. Poème de Pétrone, par M. Le Président Bouhier. Paris, par la Compagnie des Libraires.

101. 1756. Re-edition of No. 98—slightly different type.

102. (1797). Guerre civile, recherches sceptiques, par J. N. M. Deguerle. Paris, Brasseur, Buisson, Desenne. An VII.

103. (1797). Pétrone Latin et François. Paris, Gide, An VII. (As No. 101.)

104. 1800. Fragmentum Petronii ex bibl. Sti. Gall. Lallemandus. (No place or printer; by Jos. Marchena.)

105. 1803. Satire de Pétrone, trad. par le Citoyen D * * * * *. Paris, Gerard. (Probably by Durand.)

106. 1834. Le Satyricon, traduction nouvelle par C. H[éguin] D[e] G[uerle]. (Collection Panckoucke.) Paris. (A completion and elaboration of No. 102.)

107. 1843. Pétrone, Apulée, Aulu-Gelle. Paris, Dubochet. (In the Collection Nisard. Translation by Baillard.)

108. (1861?) The same, published by Garnier Frères. (Probably stereotyped; has appeared many times since with slight changes of cover, etc.)

109. 1865. Reprint, with notes, of No. 104. Soleure (Brussels), A. Mertens.

FRENCH.

110. 1677. Les vers de Pétrone. Paris, Io. Langlois. (Probably again de Marolles.)

111. 1687. Pétrone, trad. nouvelle. Cologne, Pierre Marteau.

112. 1689. No. 111, re-printed. Antwerp, Fr. Ducoin.

113. 1693–4. Traduction entière de Pétrone. Cologne, Pierre Groth.*

114. ,1694. Les galanteries de Néron. Cologne, Pierre Marteau.

115. 1742. Satyre de Pétrone, de Boispreaux. The Hague, Jean Neaulme. (By Dujardin.)

* *See* note on No. 89 above.

116. 1742. The same, but London, Jean Nourse.

117. 1865. La Guerre civile, trad. Chalvet. Marseilles, V. Boy.

118. 1902. Pétrone, Le Satyricon, trad. Laurent Tailhade. Paris, Bibliothèque Charpentier.

119. 1902. Pétrone, Introduction et fragments. Jerome Doucet, illustr. L. E. Fournier. Paris, A. Ferroud.

120. (1909.) Pétrone: Biographie, Bibliographie, Pages Choisies, par Charles Simond. Paris, Louis-Michaud.

121. 1909. (Announced.) *Edition de luxe* of No. 118, illustrated. Paris, L. Couard.

ENGLISH.

122. 1694. The Satyr of Petronius, by Mr. Burnaby. London, S. Briscoe.

123. 1708. The Satyrical works of Petronius, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Burnaby, Mr. Blount, Mr. Brown, Capt. Ayloff, etc. London, S. Briscoe, sold by B. Bragge.

124. } ? (Second and third editions of No. 122.)
125. }

126. 1713. Fourth edition of No. 122, by several hands. London, S. Briscoe, sold by J. Morphew and J. Woodward.

127. 1714. Same edition, sold by W. Brand, E. J. Kent, and J. Graves.

127A. 1721. Same edition, sold by Tho. Bickerton.

128. 1736. The Works of Petronius, by Mr. Addison. London, J. Watts, sold by J. Osborne.

129. 1854. Propertius, Petronius, etc. W. K. Kelly. London, H. G. Bohn. (This work seems to have been re-issued with a new date on title-page in succeeding years.)

130. 1866. The Satyricon. Ed. by Calvin Blanchard. New York. (The translation is taken from No. 129.)

131. 1880. As No. 129. Published by George Bell and Sons.

132. 1898. Trimalchio's Dinner. H. T. Peck. New York, Dodd, Mead and Co.

133. 1899. Reprint (for private circulation) of No. 123.

134. 1902. The Satyricon. Paris, Charles Carrington.

135. (1906.) Petronius (Trimalchio's Banquet). Michael J. Ryan. (The English translation from No. 85.)

Latin and German.

136. 1845. Satyricon nebst deutscher Uebersetzung. Berlin, C. G. Ende.

German.

137. 1773. Begebenheiten des Enkolp. W. Heinse. Rome (probably really Schwabach, *Not. Lit.* Bipont.)

138. 1783. Geheime Geschichte des roemischen Hofs. Rom. (Second edition of No. 137.)

139. 1792. Buhlschaften der Roemer. Cypriper. (The same book.)

140. 1796. Petroni saemmtliche Werke, J. C. K. Schlueter. Halle, J. C. Hendel. (According to Engelmann, by H. W. Schmidt.)

141. 1796. Satyricon. Adolf Groeninger. Berlin, J. F. Vriger.

142. 1798. Satyricon, neu uebersetzt. Blanckenburg and Leipzig.

143. 1804. Satyricon. Leipzig, in der Sommerschen Buchhandlung. (The same book as No. 140, with new title-page.)

144. 1843. Schilderung eines roemischen Gastmahls. Berlin, Ende.

145. 1844. Jahns Archiv. 10 Bd., p. 194. Das Gastmahl des Trimalchio. A. Wellauer.

146. 1874. Bruchstuecke eines Sittenromanes. Stuttgart, J. Scheible.

147. 1876. Das Gastmahl, H. Merkens. Jena, H. Costenoble.

148. 1898. Reprint of No. 137. Leipzig, A. Weigel.

149. 1908. Die Fragmente des Petronius, A. v Bernus. Munich. G. Mueller.

150. 1909. A reprint of No. 137, ed. K. Hauer, Munich.

Latin and Italian.

151. 1806. Satire di Petronio. (V. Lancetti). Brescia, Bettone.

152. 1843. Petronii Satyricon, V. Lancetti. Venice, Gius. Antonelli.

153. 1887. Le Satire di Petronio, G. A. Cesareo. Florence, G. C. Sanzoni.

Italian.

154. 1678. Successi di Eumolpione, Ciriaco Basilico. Naples, Ant. Bulifon.

155. 1863. Satire di Arbitro, V. Lancetti. Milan, G. Daelli.

156. 1871. Petronio, Cely Colajanni. Naples.

157. 1895. Petronio, V. de Simone. Naples, Giannini.

LATIN AND HUNGARIAN.

158. 1819. Petronius nevezetesebb Verseivel, G. Somogyi. Veszprémden, özv. Számmer Mihályné Betüivel.

SPANISH.

159. (1906?). Petronio. Madrid, Viuda de Rodríguez Serra.

C.—CRITICISM.

160. 1583. Ian Douza, Praecidanea. (Generally, perhaps always, with No. 11, of which it may be an integral part. Entered here separately because the date is two years earlier.) Leyden, Jo. Paetsius.

161. 1596, etc. G. Schoppius, Verisimilia: in quibus multa vett. scrr. loca.... Petronii etc. emendantur.

162. 1666. Adr. de Valois and I. C. Wagenseil, Dissertationes. Paris, E. Martin.

163. 1666. Marino Statileo, Responsio (to No. 162. Probably by Pierre Petit). Paris, E. Martin.

164. 1675, etc. Io. Schefferi spicilegium. Lect. Acad., p. 227. Hamburg, G. Schultzen.

165. 1694. Observations sur le Pétrone trouvé à Belgrade. Paris, Veuve Daniel Hortemels. (By Breugière de Barante, under the pseudonym of George Pellissier.)

166. 1694. Lettres de M. de * * * sur .... la traduction de Pétrone. Cologne, Pierre Groth. (Probably by J. B. de Mongenet, published at Grenoble.)

167. 1700. La Contre-critique de Pétrone. Paris, J.-B. Cusson and P. Witte. (By Fr. Nodot.)

168. 1734. Chrestomathia Petronio-Burmanniana. Florence (probably Amsterdam), sumpt. Soc. (By I. Verburg, possibly assisted by Tib. Hemsterhuis).

169. 1748. Miscellanea Lipsiensia Nova VI, pp. 93, 272, 488, 650. I. I. Reiske, animadversiones ad ed. Burmannianam.

170. 1749. Ger. Horreus, Animadv. sacrae et prof. p. 73. Harlingen, F. van der Plaats.

171. 1753. Chr. Crusius, Probabilia Critica, p. 206. Leipzig, C. Fritsch.

172. 1761. Io. Schrader. Obs. liber p. 30. (On *Bell. Civ.* 255.) Franecker, J. Brouwer.

173. 1765. I. G. Hauptmann, de stud. philos. vett. Rom. Gym.-Progr. Gerae.

174. 1768. I. G. Hauptmann, Arma Demosthenis. Gym.-Progr. Gerae.

175. 1776. Io. Schrader, Liber Emendatt. p. 45. Leuwarden, H. A. de Chalmont.

176. 1780. Rutger Ouwens, Noctes Haganae, lib. II, ch. 15. Franecker, P. N. Lomars.

177. 1781. I. A. Nodell, Crit. Obss. libellus, Cap. IV.

178. 1786. Friedr. Jacobs, Spec. emendatt. auct. Lat., p. 84.

179. 1793. Friedr. Jacobs, In Petronii Satyricon. Unpublished MS., except for No. 244. (Now MSS. Add. 3556 in Cambridge University Library.)

180. 1796. Neue Teutsche Merkur, Weimar, 1 Bd., p. 387. J. F. v. Meyer, Kritische Erlaüterung einer Stelle des Petr. (Ch. 126.)

181. 1806. I. Gurlitt, Animadv. ad auct. vett. specimen III, Hamburg.

182. 1812. E. T. Suringar, spicilegia crit. ad Petr. de Bell. Civ. Lingae, typ. Mohr.

183. 1820. B. G. Niebuhr, Zwei klass. lat. Schriftsteller. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.

184. 1824. Nuova Collezione d'opusc. lett. p. 53, 111. In Petr. Arb. frag. Trag. notulae, by Francesco Orioli.

185. 1828. W. Wensch, Epigr. de Petr. emend. Progr. Wittemberg.

186. 1828. No. 183, re-published in Niebuhr's Kl. hist. u. phil. Schriften, p. 305.

187. 1832. P. Wesselingius, obs. libri II, p. 11, 25, 124, 197.

188. 1836. I. C. Orelli, Lectiones Petronianae. Ind. Lect. Zurich.

189. 1839. G. Studer, obs. crit. in Petr. Coenam. Lect. Gymn. Berne.

190. 1842. I. G. Moessler, comm. de Petr. bell. civ. Breslau.

191. 1843. Rhein. Mus., NF II, p. 50, 202. G. Studer, Ueber das Zeitalter des Petronius Arbiter.

192. 1843. Rhein. Mus., II, p. 561. F. Ritter, Zwei Werke des Petronius Arbiter.

193. 1846. Rhein. Mus., IV, p. 511. W. Teuffel, Noch einige Bedenken in Betreff des Petronius.

194. 1848. Philologus, III, p. 102. K. Fr. Hermann, Parerga Critica. (On questions of statuary in ch. 88.)

195. 1855. Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. 9 Jahrg., p. 421. Mor. Schmidt, Lesefruechte. (On *Aureum torum* in ch. 131_9.

196. 1856. C. Beck, The Age of Petronius. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, N.S. VI. Cambridge (Mass.), Metcalf.

197. 1857. J. Moessler, Quaest. Petr. specimen, comp. cum Lucani Phars. Hirschberg.

198. 1858. Rhein. Mus., XIII, p. 296. J. Vahlen, adv. ad Cic. et Petr. (Conjectural emendations in poem *de bello civili.*)

199. 1860. L. Friedlaender, de colonia Trimalch. Ind. Lect. Acad. Albert. Regimonti, typis Dalkowskianis.

200. 1860. Rhein. Mus., XV, p. 482. F. Buecheler, Zu Petron, C. 89.

201. 1861. G. Wehle, Obs. crit. in Petr. Bonn, C. Georg.

202. 1861. No. 201, re-issued by Henry and Cohen.

203. 1861. L. Friedlaender, obs. miscellae. Ind. lect. hib. 1861-2.

204. 1861. Rhein. Mus. XVI, p 532. O. Keller, Zur Kritik der Cena.

205. 1861. Fr. Haase, Misc. Philol. Lib. III, c. 6. Progr. acad., p. 16. Breslau.

206. 1862. A. Péricaud, Curiosités Littéraires, Pétrone, etc. Lyons, A. Vingtrinier.

207. 1862. Rhein. Mus., XVII, p. 324. M. Hertz, Zu Petronius. (On *ipsimus=dominus.*)

208. 1863. C. Beck, The MSS. of Petronius. Cambridge (Mass.), Riverside Press.

209. 1863. Philologus, XX, p. 178. E. Klussmann, Petroniana. (Conjectural emendations on 7 passages.)

210. 1863. Philologus, XX, p. 293. C. Beck. (Relation of the Leyden and Berne MSS.)

211. 1863. Philologus, XX, p. 726. F. Buecheler, Ueber Handschr. des Petr. (Chiefly a review of No. 208.)

212. 1863. C. Lysander, Quaest, crit. et gramm., p. 56, 70. Diss. Inaug. Lundae.

213. 1863. Rhein. Mus., XVIII, p. 322. F. Buecheler, Zu Petronius. (On *serisapia*, in ch. 56_8.)

214. 1863. Miscell. phil. liber (Grat.-Schr. zu Haase's Jubilaeum), p. 26. Gotschlich, De parod. Senecae apud. Petr. Breslau.

215. 1864. A. Weidner, crit. script. spec. Progr. Friedr. Wilh. Gymn., Cologne.

216. 1865. J. G. Moessler, Quaest. Petr. Specimen alterum. Hirschberg.

217. 1865. Rhein. Mus., XX, p. 157. C. F. W. Mueller, Zu lat. Prosaikern. (On *nec istud dei sinant*, in ch. 112_7.)

218. 1865. C. F. W. Mueller, Bemerk. zu lat. Pros. Gymn. progr. Landsberg a. W.

219. 1866. Jahrbb. f. class. Phil., XCIII, p. 394. L. Mueller, Sammelsurien.

220. 1866. Ibid., p. 556. L. Mueller (on frg. XXVIII, 1–5).

221. 1866. Ibid., p. 863. L. Mueller (on Petr. ch. 23).

222. 1867. Hermes, II, p. 142. Io. Schrader, Emendd. carm. Petronii de bello civili (ex libro Santen. Berol. descr. Haupt.)

223. 1867. Hermes, II, p. 216. Mor. Haupt, Analecta. Ad Petronium. (On ch. 20_5.)

224. 1867. Jahrbb. f. class. Phil., XCV, p. 509. L. Mueller, Sammelsurien. (On frg. LI, vv. 3–4.)

225. 1869. J. E. Pétrequin, Recherches sur Pétrone. Paris, J.-B. Baillière; Pyons, Ch. Méra.

226. 1869. E. Ludwig, De Petr. sermone plebejo. Diss. inaug. Marburg, typis J. A. Koch.

227. 1869. Jahrbb. f. class. Philol., XCIX, p. 279. A Riese, Ueber die Echtheit des . . . . Petronius.

228. 1870. Dr. Moessler, Quaest. Petr. spec. tertium. Progr. Hirschberg, W. Pfund.

229. 1870. Hermes, IV, p. 157. M. Haupt, Varia. (On fragment Omnia quae miseras, Buecheler ed. maior., p. 223.)

230. 1871. No. 193, re-printed in Teuffel's Stud. u. char. zur griech. u. roem. Literaturgesch., p. 391.

231. 1872. Rhein. Mus., XXVII, p. 474. F. Buecheler, Coniectanea. (On *Petraitis* in chh. 52_3 and 71_6.)

232. 1873. Hermes, VII, p. 185, 192. M. Haupt, Ad Petronium. (On ch. 89, l. 38 *sqq.*, and on the subject of No. 305.)

233. 1874. Revue des deux mondes, XLIV, 15 November, p. 320. G. Boissier, Un Roman de Moeurs sous Néron.

234. 1874. Philologus, XXXIII, p. 191. J. Jessen, Neues Frgmt. des Petr. (Matutinus sol tectis arrisit—frgmt. 5^b.)

235. 1874. Philologus, XXXIII, p. 475. R. Unger. (On subject of No. 229.)

236. 1874. Hermes, VIII, p. 473. O. Hirschfeld, Bemerkungen. (Ch. 42_7, anticus suggested for antiquus.)

237. 1875. A. v. Guericke, De ling. vulg. rel. ap. Petr. et in inscr. pariet. Pompeianis. Gumbinnae, typ. Krauseneckianis.

238. 1875. Jahrbb. f. class. Phil., CXI=N.F. XXI, p. 341. H. Bluemner, Zu Petronius. (On ch. 2_9 *Aegyptiorum audacia.*)

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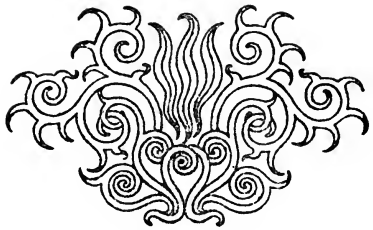

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Compiled by R. A. PEDDIE.

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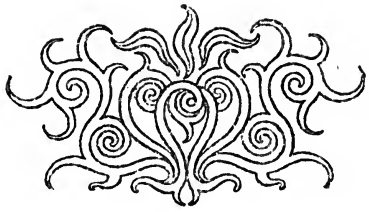

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

GENERAL INDEX.

VOLUMES I.—X., 1893—1909.

186777.
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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

BY BLADES, EAST & BLADES.

1910.

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